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THE ORIGINS OF THE *INSULAE* AT OSTIA

PHILIP HARSH

(PLATES 1-3)

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I. SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENTS AT POMPEII [1]

ONE may distinguish at a glance the vast difference between the private houses at Ostia and those at Pompeii.[2] Whether the former should be considered to be evolved forms of the old Italic house with atrium and tablinum or structures of entirely different origin has puzzled scholars for some years, and has recently been the subject of very stimulating studies by Commendatore Maiuri and Dr. Boëthius. Maiuri admits the profound difference between the two types, but, pointing out the transformation of building forms and the changes in methods of construction which took place at Pompeii beginning with the Augustan period and become especially noticeable during the last decades of the city, he calls attention to certain new developments which seem to foreshadow the later evolution of the house as it is represented at Ostia and in Rome.[3] He does not, however, attempt definitely to solve the problem of unity or plurality of types. The innovations which receive his special attention are outer balconies, brick tetrastyle atria with surrounding inner balconies, and the transformation of the impluvium.

The brick tetrastyle atria are especially interesting in this connection. In the last period of Pompeii, as Maiuri points out,[4] this type was used to permit a first floor over the atrium, since in houses with Tuscan atria, efforts towards vertical expansion usually resulted in two or more upper apartments, often separate and approached by different stairs, but sometimes joined by an inner balcony. The brick columns or piers of the tetrastyle atria, however, could be used to support inner balconies around all four sides of the open area, which could be reached by stairs placed in the atria. In the opinion of Maiuri, the problem

[1] I wish to thank the following scholars for their many helpful suggestions and criticisms: Professors Axel Boëthius, Karl Lehmann-Hartleben, Marbury B. Ogle, and Albert W. Van Buren, and Mrs. E. Douglas Van Buren. Thanks are due above all, however, to the Committee on Ryerson Fellowships in Archaeology in the University of Chicago, whose award made this study possible.

Throughout the paper, the term "ground floor" is used to designate the floor at about the ground level, the term "first floor", the story immediately above.

For a general bibliography on "*Haus, Hütte*", see *Katalog der Bibl. d. Deutschen Archäol. Inst. in Rom*, 2d. ed., ii, Berlin and Leipzig, 1932, 85-88.

[2] *Cf.* GUIDO CALZA, "*Le Origini Latine dell'Abitazione Moderna*", *Architettura ed Arti Decorative*, iii, 1923, fasc. 1-2.

[3] AMEDEO MAIURI, "*Contributi allo Studio dell'Ultima Fase Edilizia Pompeiana*", *Atti del I° Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani*, i, 1929, 161-172.

[4] *Ibid.*, 166-167.

of upper floors was thus solved at Pompeii, and this vertical development was interrupted only by the destruction of the city.[1]

Carrington, on the basis of this material, has gone much further than Maiuri in claiming that certain of the most important types of houses at Pompeii and Ostia when examined in chronological order show a logical development;[2] that is, that the houses at Ostia constitute a direct development of houses such as those at Pompeii. He also cites these tetrastyle atria with their inner balconies, and again calls attention to the use of external balconies at Pompeii.[3] He intimates that if Pompeii had not been destroyed, these innovations would have led to the development of a house such as that found at Ostia. The similarities, he states with reference to the *Casa di Diana*,[4] go further than the row of shops lining the street and the outer staircases: they concern the whole composition of the house: the well of light formed between impluvium and compluvium has been enlarged into the area of a cortile, while the portion of the atrium surrounding the impluvium has been narrowed into a simple corridor on three sides and on the fourth has been replaced by a line of doorways. The inner balcony has become a corridor on the first floor. The external balcony also plays an important role. He finds a trace of an ala to the N.E. of the cortile in the *Casa di Diana*, and points out that in the last period of Pompeii the alae are sometimes omitted.[5]

But we must not be too ready to assume that the house with atrium and peristyle was the only type employed in Rome and central Italy, or that a later development must necessarily be an evolved form of this type, so common at Pompeii. Calza has made a brilliant and convincing argument in favor of the early existence of a popular dwelling house built on a simpler plan, possibly *tabernae tabulatae*.[6] He points out that with regard to this type, there is no question of evolution from the type with atrium, since such a popular dwelling house may be equally ancient, and concludes that the most common Roman house (that adapted to every class of a large urban population), in existence before the Empire,

[1] Maiuri (*op. cit.*, 168, note 1) points out that, in this preliminary study, he has not taken up the problem of the part played by the *atrium testudinatum* in the vertical development of the house. Vitruvius (VI, iii, 2) says: *testudinata uero ibi fiunt ubi non sunt impetus magni et in contignationibus supra spatiosae redduntur habitationes.*

[2] R. C. Carrington, "The Ancient Italian Town-House", *Antiquity*, vii, 1933, 133-152, esp. 133-136.

[3] *Ibid.*, 143-4. Carrington makes no actual identification of the houses to which he refers and of which he presents two pictures and a plan. I take for granted that the houses of his plates iv and v are, respectively, VI, iii, 3 (square pillars) and VI, xv, 9 (round pillars). *Cf.* Maiuri, *loc. cit.*, 168-169.

[4] *Ibid.*, 146.

[5] *Ibid.*, 147. Carrington cites a house with tetrastyle atrium as illustration (his fig. 2 a), which he fails to identify (VI, iii, 3). Occasionally, however, the alae are retained in such houses, and it is also noteworthy that some of these houses with tetrastyle atria have no side rooms, or have rooms on one side common to two atria. See the descriptions of these houses given later in this paper. The recess in the *Casa di Diana* need have no historical connection with the alae of the atrium. Such recesses are common, for instance, in the Hellenistic Greek houses at Delos. *Cf. Maison du Trident* (ii, A), *Maison du Dionysus* (vi, I), *Maison de la Colline.*

[6] Guido Calza, "*La preminenza dell' 'Insula' nella Edilizia Romana*", *Mon. Ant.*, xxiii, 1916, 541-608, esp. 546-564. *Cf.* Guido Calza, "*Ostia in the Light of Recent Discoveries*", *Antiquity*, vii, 1933, 405-409, esp. 406. *Cf.* Lehmann-Hartleben, in the article *Städtebau*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Zweite Reihe*, iii, 2040-1.

and more widely spread afterwards, was a type totally opposed to the *domus Pompeiana*, with an entirely independent origin and development.

More recently, Boëthius has traced the development of these shop-houses in Rome and Italy beginning with the fourth century B. C., and presents an excellent demonstration that as early as *ca.* 100 B. C., there existed even in small towns such as Pompeii and Praeneste (Palestrina) a utilitarian type of house without any trace of an atrium, but with rows of independent shops, outer staircases to the upper stories, and similar features.[1] These buildings, he concludes, reveal themselves at once as the ancestors of the façades of the Imperial *insulae*, but he wisely does not exclude the possibility of foreign influence.[2] In fact, he distinctly says that in order to discover the origin of these tenement houses, a wide survey would be necessary, extending over Etruscan, Carthaginian, and Hellenistic towns.[3] It is certain that such a survey is essential before any final decision concerning the origin of this apparently new type of house can be drawn. If no affinities can be found elsewhere, then we may be justified tentatively in assuming that the new type developed from the old Italic house.

But before attempting to find parallels elsewhere, it may be well further to examine these " transitional " houses at Pompeii and Herculaneum. Boëthius takes full cognizance of these innovations, but thinks that they were efforts to adapt the old atrium house to

[1] Axel Boëthius, " Remarks on the Development of Domestic Architecture in Rome ", *A.J.A.*, xxxviii, 1934, 158-170, esp. 167.

[2] An interesting shop-house with a portico along the front is found at Selinunte. See E. Gàbrici, *Mon. Ant.*, xxxiii, 1930, 68-70, pl. iv (E). I entirely agree with Boëthius, however, that the vertical development in Rome is an entirely natural, logical development. It may be purely Roman. Boëthius (" The Neronian ' Nova Urbs ' " *Corolla Archaeologica* (= *Skrifter*, ii), Lund, 1932, 87-8) thinks that a radical change in technique preceded the fully developed type of Imperial tenement house; that probably the structural innovations of Nero (see especially Tacitus, *Ann.*, xv, 43) were similar to the type of structure which appears in the Palatine houses of Sulla's time and later, showing concrete walls faced with *opus incertum* or *reticulatum* and strengthened at the angles with blocks of tufa, assuming that Nero wished to extend to the *insulae* the use of that construction already employed in the *domus*. But such construction is not characteristic of the existing remains of houses of the period of Nero. See Van Deman (" The Date of Concrete Monuments ", *A.J.A.*, xvi, 1912, 404), who says that remains of structures built of *opus quadratum* alone or in combination with *opus caementicium* are rare for this period, but that monuments of *opus caementicium* faced with *opus testaceum* are to be found on every hand. Besides, we know from Vitruvius (II, viii, 17) that the *insulae* of the Augustan period employed such construction as Boëthius assumes was the innovation of Nero. This passage in Vitruvius is extremely important because here, in contrast with the frequent passages in literature stressing the flimsiness of *insulae*, an expert bears testimony to the excellent construction of *insulae*: .... *ergo cum recipere non possint areae planatae tantam multitudinem ad habitandum in urbe, ad auxilium altitudinis aedificiorum res ipsa coegit devenire. itaque pilis lapideis, structuris testaceis, parietibus caementiciis altitudines extructae contignationibus crebris coaxatae cenaculorum ad summas utilitates perficiunt despectationes. ergo moenibus e contignationibus areis alto spatio multiplicatis populus Romanus egregias habet sine inpeditione habitationes.* (*areis* Krohn: *variis* Codd.).

The *insula* of Clodius in which Caelius paid 10,000 sesterces rent according to his defender, Cicero (*pro Cael.*, 17), 30,000 according to his accusers, must have been a luxurious house and presumably was well-built.

[3] Boëthius, " The Neronian ' Nova Urbs ' " 89; *cf.* " Remarks.... ", *A.J.A.*, xxxviii, 1934, 168-169, where Boëthius admits that certain modifications and compromises have to be regarded as important contributions from the old atrium-architecture, but does not think that they represent the main line of development which led to the Imperial *insulae*. In his opinion, the atrium house represents a line of development which comes to a sudden end.

the demands of the busier and more crowded times by the introduction of elements from the architecture of large towns.[1] It is obvious from Vitruvius (II, viii, 17) that the *insula* was a highly developed type in his own day, long before the "transitional" houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum. This fact might be brought to the support of Boëthius's contention that these "transitional" houses are really hybrid houses.[2] There is other evidence that may be gathered from the houses themselves. For various reasons, the tetrastyle atria with balconies do not form a satisfactory type. Carrington himself admits that the lighting of such houses is not nearly adequate, and points out how the front rooms on the upper floor might be furnished with an outside balcony, and thus be properly illuminated.[3] But this did not solve the problem of lighting the rooms on the ground floor properly,[4] and there is no tendency to enlarge the relative size of the compluvium in these "transitional" houses. This is somewhat surprising, and might suggest that no real evolution is taking place in these houses as far as the compluvium is concerned. Let us examine these houses individually.[5]

I, vi, 2.

Atrium *ca.* 9.15 × 8.35 m.

Impluvium *ca.* 2.30 × 1.80 m. This goes back to a previous period (Della Corte). When the brick pillars were built, a low (*ca.* 0.50 m.) wall was constructed between the pillars broken on one side by the wellhead (intercolumniations *ca.* 2.14 m. E. W.; 1.97 m. N. S.).

Rooms on one side and back; other side has one room, originally belonging to next house; no alae; tablinum; peristyle; no indications of balconies.

Cf. M. Della Corte, *Not. Scavi*, 1913, 476-8, fig. 1 (existence of balconies not mentioned); *cf.* Amedeo Maiuri, *Not. Scavi*, 1933, 254.

VI, iii, 3.

Atrium *ca.* 8.50 × 11.20 m. Originally Tuscan (Fiorelli).

Impluvium *ca.* 2.63 × 3.68 m. This belonged to older period (Maiuri).

Rooms on all sides except the front; no alae; tablinum passageway.

This house was rebuilt by its last proprietor, who added pistrinum and upper floors (Maiuri).

Cf. Fiorelli, *Descrizione di Pompeii*, Naples, 1875, 92 (existence of balconies mentioned); Overbeck and Mau, *Pompeji*, 4th ed., Leipzig, 1884, 386; Maiuri, "*Contributi....*", 169.

VI, xv, 6 (7). Figs. 1-2.

Atrium *ca.* 8.20 m. N. S. × 8.30 m. E. W.

Impluvium *ca.* 1.65 m. N. S. × 1.70 m. E. W. Pillars set on approximate square *ca.* 2.25 m. along inner edge.

[1] "The Neronian 'Nova Urbs'," 92.

[2] *Ibid.*, 89, 92-3.

[3] Carrington, *Antiquity*, vii, 1933, 143.

[4] Some of the rooms on the ground floor could be illuminated by the introduction of a supplementary light well, a cortile or peristyle, or if lying next to the street, by a small window in the outer wall.

[5] My consideration, necessarily limited, is confined to the houses cited by Maiuri, *Contributi....*, 168-9; but, as indicated in the descriptions, the existence of balconies is not always certain.

The measurements of the impluvia are taken along the upper edge of the depressed area. The width is given first.

Rooms front and back only; tablinum; light court behind tablinum (Mau, but not, in the opinion of Sogliano, during the later period).

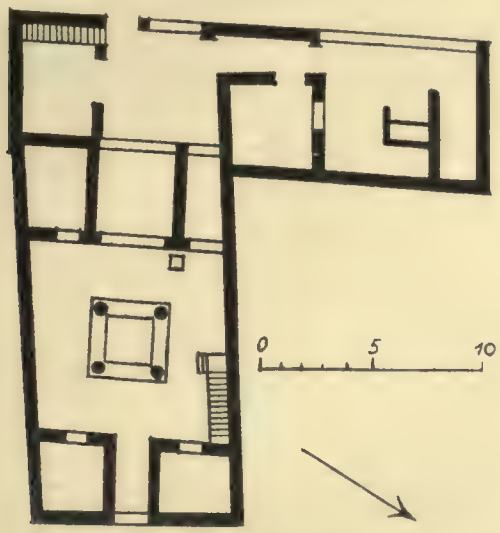

Fig. 1. A house with tetrastyle atrium and balconies surrounding the compluvium. (Pompeii, VI, xv, 6 [7]).
After A. MÜFID, *Stockwerkbau der Griechen und Römer*, Berlin, 1932, p. 32, fig. 14. By kind permission of the German Archaeological Institute.

Cf. SOGLIANO, *Not. Scavi*, 1897, 30-34 (existence of balconies mentioned); MAU, *Röm. Mitt.*, xiii, 1898, 24-25; MÜFID, *Stockwerkbau der Griechen und Römer, Istanbuler Forschungen*, i, Berlin, 1932, 33-4, figs. 14-15. On ownership, *cf.* M. DELLA CORTE, *Case e Abitanti a Pompei*, Pompei, 1926, nos. 62-3.

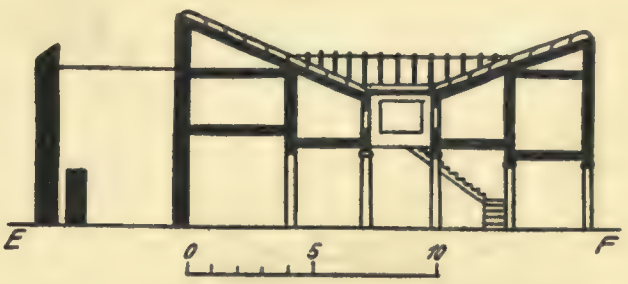

Fig. 2. Longitudinal section of the house, the plan of which is given in Fig. 1.
From A. MÜFID, *op. cit.*, p. 32, fig. 15. By kind permission of the German Archaeological Institute.

VI, xv, 9 (10).
Atrium *ca.* 7.20 × 5.75 m.
Impluvium *ca.* 1.65 × 1.85 m.
Rooms front and back; an ala on one side; no tablinum (?); tiny light well in S. room behind atrium.
Cf. SOGLIANO, *Not. Scavi*, 1897, 38-9, 62-4 (compluvium and structure over columns preserved *in situ*); MAU, *Röm. Mitt.*, xiii, 1898, 41-44; MAIURI, "*Contributi...*", 168-9.

VII, xv, 12 (*Casa di A. Ottavio Primo*).
Atrium *ca.* 12.50 × 9.70 m.
Impluvium *ca.* 2.80 m. square.
Rooms front and back and on one side; tablinum; small cortile; walls have not survived to sufficient height to indicate the existence of balconies.
Cf. FIORELLI, *Gli Scavi di Pompei dal 1861 al 1872*, Naples, 1873, 49-50 (existence of balconies not mentioned).

VIII, ii, 29.
Atrium *ca.* 9.10 × 10.50 m.
Impluvium *ca.* 2.44 × 3.92 m.
Rooms front and back; one side no room; other side passage into E. atrium (double house); tablinum passage (?); evidence for balconies slight and uncertain.
Cf. SOGLIANO, *Not. Scavi*, 1883, 135-6 (existence of balconies not mentioned; in course of reconstruction).

VIII, iii, 4 (*Casa d'Ercole*).
Atrium *ca.* 7.95 × 11.50 m.
Impluvium *ca.* 3.20 × 3.60 m.
Rooms all around except front including alae (one irregular); tablinum; existence of balconies uncertain.
Cf. FIORELLI, *Descrizione di Pompei*, 321-2 (existence of balconies not mentioned).

VIII, iv, 9 (*Casa di T. Mescinio Gelone*).
Atrium *ca.* 9.60 × 9.60-10.00 m.
Impluvium *ca.* 3.60 × 2.90 m. (??). Basin missing.
Rooms on both sides and back; no alae; tablinum; existence of balconies uncertain.
Cf. FIORELLI, *Gli Scavi di P.* ..., 4 (existence of balconies not mentioned).

VIII, iv, 34.
Atrium *ca.* 9.50 × 10.50 m.
Impluvium *ca.* 3.00 × 3.95 m.
Rooms on all sides except front; no alae; no fauces; tablinum (?). This does not appear to be a normal Roman house; walls have not survived to sufficient height to indicate the existence of balconies.
Cf. FIORELLI, *Gli Scavi di P.* ..., 8 (*atrium tuscanicum* with large impluvium; in process of reconstruction).

Villa dei Misteri.
Secondary atrium (?) *ca.* 7.40 × 7.10 m.
Impluvium (?) *ca.* 3.00 × 2.75 m. This is actually a viridarium, but Maiuri assumes that it was once a normal impluvium. The border (and therefore the size) goes back to the same period as the peristyle with tufa columns, and since this border is a typical peristyle border, not an impluvium border (it is not bevelled), and since the gutter appears to be contemporary, it is very doubtful, in my opinion, that this was ever an impluvium. The brick columns may have replaced other columns. One may note how the stones are worn at the side of the column which is on a line between the doorway onto the peristyle and the doorway onto the outside portico. Perhaps it would be more proper to term this structure a peristyle of four columns.
Rooms on parts of three sides, two or three of which receive illumination supplementary to that received from this atrium (?); one ala or exedra; no tablinum.
Cf. MAIURI, *La Villa dei Misteri*, Rome, 1931, 61-3 (existence of balconies apparently established).

One will observe that most of these houses are small and irregular, and that in four, the impluvium is about one-fourth or less the width of the atrium; in three other houses of this same group, it is about one-third or less; in the others, it is about two-fifths or less.

In short, with one or two exceptions, there is no tendency shown for the compluvium to increase its relative size and so become a light well of adequate proportions. Vitruvius says that the compluvium should be not less than one-fourth or more than one-third of the width of the atrium, and that its length should be in proportion to that of the atrium.[1] Most of these houses conform to this canon very well. That is, the compluvium is designed to light an old style atrium with no balconies or pillars to obscure the light. There is no deliberate attempt, therefore, to adapt the compluvium to the new requirements of the house. Not only may we infer this from the relative size of the impluvium: the old basin itself is sometimes preserved unchanged as pointed out in the descriptions above.

This lack of any noticeable evolution in the size of the compluvium is all the more striking since in some houses there was a tendency to blend the peristyle and the atrium.[2] In such cases, the compluvium might have furnished adequate light even if the house had

[1] VITRUVIUS, VI, iii, 6.

[2] See below, pp. 29-32.

been perhaps three stories high, but a light well of less than one-twelfth the area to be illuminated (as it was in four of the above houses) carried down below a surrounding balcony and bounded by four columns or pillars was certainly inadequate. [1]

The *Casa a Graticcio*, recently excavated at Herculaneum, [2] is very interesting in this connection and might be interpreted as a transitional stage in the development of the type of certain houses at Ostia, but Boëthius is of the opinion that here again we do not have a transitional stage. He observes the fact that this house is not clearly and logically thought out in its planning. [3] His interpretation, in my opinion, is again the correct one. When one examines the plan of this house and the surrounding buildings, he will note that the *Casa a Graticcio* covers a plot almost duplicating that of the next house on the S.W. Not only do these houses have a common wall, but the internal N.S. walls of both are in line throughout (or practically so), except that, where the house to the S. has its atrium, the *Casa a Graticcio* has certain small rooms. These rooms evidently are due to the drastic remodelling of the house. [4] The important and inescapable conclusion is this: the light well of the *Casa a Graticcio* is not a modified atrium. It is not located where the atrium should be (and perhaps once was), as the plan of the next house demonstrates. The atrium has disappeared entirely, being converted into small rooms on the ground and first floors. A light well bearing little or no resemblance to an atrium has

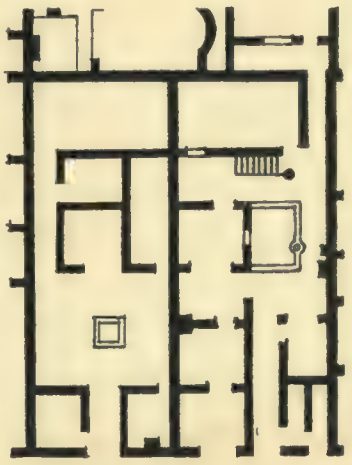

Fig. 3. The *Casa a Graticcio* at Herculaneum and the house adjoining on the southwest. These houses face approximately southeast.

After A. MAIURI, *Ercolano* (*Visioni Italiche*), Novara etc., no date, plan opposite p. 58. By kind permission of Commendatore Maiuri.

[1] The presence of a tiny light well immediately behind the atrium of VI, xv, 9, would seem to indicate that in this house the lighting from the compluvium was not sufficient.

[2] Fig. 3. *Cf.* MAIURI, *Ercolano* (*Visioni Italiche*), Novara, etc. (no date), 62-64. The definitive publication of the houses excavated in recent years at Herculaneum has not yet appeared. Accordingly, I was not free to make a detailed study of these houses. They are of the first importance, however, in any consideration of the history of the Roman house, and I venture to publish the present study only because my casual survey seems to indicate that these houses at Herculaneum, when published, will furnish strong confirmatory evidence for my interpretation of developments at Pompeii and Ostia. In general, we may say that at Herculaneum, there is no tendency appreciably to increase the size of the impluvium and compluvium; the conventional atrium complex is often radically modified or entirely absent; several houses are built about one or more light wells, and several about small peristyles. As examples of this last type, we may cite IV, 4, on Cardo V (balconies on first floor; the open area is paved but bears little resemblance to a normal impluvium); V, 3-4, on Cardo IV; and V, 4, on Cardo V (an elegant house). Rooms of very generous height (some tablina) are common at Herculaneum.

One finds ample proof here that in A. D. 79, the ordinary Italian house with atrium and peristyle was by no means the only type common in Italy. The chronology of the various houses is important, and their publication will be very welcome indeed. Even at Pompeii, however, somewhat similar houses are occasionally found.

[3] BOËTHIUS, *Neronian....*, 92-3, *cf.* 89.

[4] The walls of these rooms are very thin for the most part (not so indicated on the plan).

been introduced immediately behind the space originally occupied by the atrium. One is reminded of similar structures at Pompeii, perhaps even of the raised garden of VI, ii, 4 (*Casa di Sallustio*), certainly of the viridaria of two houses to be considered below (I, vii, 2-3 and VII, vi, 38). This *Casa a Graticcio* has a covered outer balcony and one room over the sidewalk, supported on round brick columns. The front apartment on the first floor is approached from a staircase leading directly from the street, and it has no connection with the rear apartment on the first floor, which is reached by a staircase opening near the light well. Some of the rooms on the first [1] as well as some on the ground floor are extremely dark, and this house cannot be considered a much more successful creation than the houses with tetrastyle atria and balconies at Pompeii; although it must be admitted that a few rooms in the *Casa di Diana* at Ostia must have always been dark, [2] so that the failure to attain proper lighting arrangements must not be over-emphasised either here or at Pompeii.

One who is anxious to discover every link in a chain of development will find in a house at Pompeii, I, vii, 2-3 (*Casa di M. Fabio Amandio*), the stage intermediate between

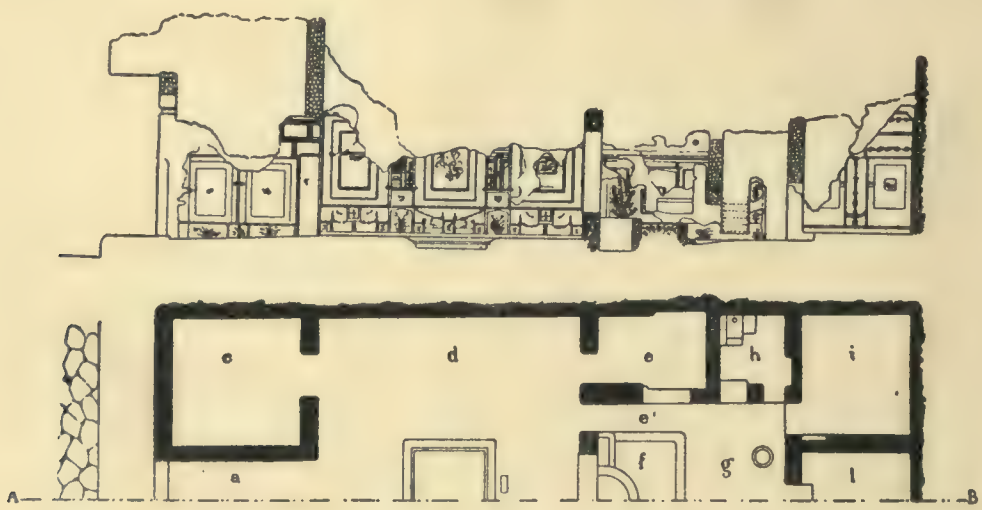

Fig. 4. Pompeii, I, vii, 2-3 (*Casa di M. Fabio Amandio*). This house faces approximately northwest.

From *Not. d. Scavi*, 1927, p. 8, fig. 3. By kind permission of the R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.

the ordinary house with atrium and the *Casa a Graticcio* at Herculaneum. This house at Pompeii has a Tuscan atrium (*ca.* 6.40 × 6.70 m.) with an impluvium (*ca.* 2.00 × 2.50 m.) located not in the center of the atrium, but approximately in line with the entrance. [3] There

[1] Two rooms of the front apartment have small windows opening onto the atrium of the next house.

[2] The other *insulae* at Ostia, however, are usually well illuminated. Parts of the large *insula* in Rome on the W. side of the Capitoline hill (*Casa di Via Giulio Romano*) were very dark. See below.

[3] Fig. 4. See Maiuri, *Not. Scavi*, 1927, 7-11 (plan, photograph, drawing); *cf.* Arif Müfid, *Stockwerkbau der Griechen und Römer, Istanbuler Forschungen*, i, Berlin, 1932, 29, fig. 10. Pompeii VI, xv, 9, a house with a tetrastyle atrium, immediately behind which is a tiny light well, might also be considered a transitional stage.

are no side rooms. In front of the atrium on the ground floor, a room has a window on the street. On the first floor at the front of the house is a small apartment. This apartment has an outer balcony, but no connection with the apartment on the first floor at the rear of the house. Immediately behind the atrium, at one side, is a light well with a large window opening onto the atrium.[1] This would seem to indicate that the compluvium of this house was none too adequate for the lighting of the atrium, and the window on the street indicates that the front room could not be adequately lighted by the atrium. Still, the window opening from the light well onto the atrium may have been designed to furnish a cheerful glimpse of the viridarium rather than to light the atrium, and it was furnished with shutters which swung on hinges from each side. There are also the remains of the hinge of a door between the atrium and the corridor about the viridarium. The light well or cortile is taken up by a corridor on the S. and E. and by a raised (*ca.* 0.50 m.) viridarium on the N. and W. From this small cortile a staircase led to the rear apartment on the first floor, the various rooms of which seem to have been on slightly different levels. A balcony on the court served as a means of communication.

We find here, then, especially in the *Casa a Graticcio*, another expedient designed to meet the conditions of a new age, in which the atrium is not converted into a light well, but is entirely eliminated, and a quite different type of light well introduced. This expedient, too, was not an altogether satisfactory solution. But when we compare this type with the houses with tetrastyle atria and inner balconies, we note that the *Casa a Graticcio* exhibits the greater efficiency with regard to the number of rooms in proportion to the space covered and the privacy of the various apartments, though of course its rooms are very small and some are very dark. We conclude, therefore, that of these two types, that which entirely eliminates the atrium in favor of a different kind of light well is the more efficient type, and accordingly, we must entertain the possibility that the cortile of the houses at Ostia was never an atrium, and that if the houses at Ostia evolved from the old Italic house, the atrium was entirely eliminated. But it is obvious that neither of these two types represented in the Campanian cities is nearly so successful an architectural creation as are the houses at Ostia.

There is still another development at Pompeii, however, that has escaped the notice of scholars in this connection, and, in my opinion, is more likely to reflect the forerunner of certain of the *insulae* at Ostia than either the tetrastyle atria or the *Casa a Graticcio*. Two good examples are adjacent houses: VII (IV), vi, 30 and VII (IV), vi, 38. Neither of these houses has an atrium. From the continuation of the *Via del Farmacista*, one enters

[1] A somewhat similar effect is produced when the tablinum is omitted and the atrium opens directly onto a portico or cortile, as it does in approximately a score of houses at Pompeii. See below, p. 33, note 2.

VII, vi, 38 through the entrance corridor into a small peristyle [1] (open area *ca.* 5.00 (?) m. N.S. × 3.60 m. E.W.). This peristyle has porticoes on all sides (?) except the N., supported by four brick and stone columns covered with stucco and resting on a low masonry wall, which, between the columns, is hollow in the middle, in order to hold plants, vines, etc. Spano thought that these columns supported an inner balcony (*terrazza*) running

Fig. 5. Pompeii, VII, vi, 30-38. After *Not. d. Scavi*, 1910, pl. I, facing p. 436. By kind permission of the R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.

about the court, since on the N. and E. walls of the porticoes, the decoration terminates in a regular horizontal line. There are indications on the N. wall of the *fauces* that an upper room was built here at a late period. The internal area of the cortile is taken up by a

[1] Fig. 5. *Cf.* Spano, *Not. Scavi*, 1910, 446-450, pl. i. This house was once connected by a doorway (and apparently a large opening N. of the cortile) with the large establishment, VII, vi, 3 (*ibid.*, 442, *cf.* 446).

viridarium at a higher level than that of the surrounding porticoes,[1] and means for draining off the water into the street are provided. Opposite the entrance beyond the cortile is a room opening onto the portico practically along its whole front, but with two columns supporting the lintel. This is a typically Greek arrangement, and together with the small peristyle it proves the house to be a Greek house. Spano acutely observed the resemblance in his original account of the excavation.[2] It is obvious from the plan that in this house, the first floor rooms could almost all be adequately lighted (though it is impossible to determine just what the actual extent of the upper floor was). The adjacent house on the S. is considerably larger and distinctly less neatly planned (VII, vi, 30).[3] Along the *Vico dei Soprastanti*, shops occur on both sides of the main entrance, and an opening directly from the street leads to the upper floor (possibly only to the rooms above 158 and 159, since 158 is the only shop in which a staircase was not found). Another entrance lies on the extension of the *Via del Farmacista*. There are two internal staircases leading to the upper floor, and a third leading only to a latrine.[4] The small garden (*ca.* 9.50 m. E.W. × 3.85 m. N.S.) lies athwart the main entrance and to one side, surrounded by a low wall and a corridor of varying width on two sides and a part of the third side. Above this corridor there was a roof or balcony.[5] There is a cistern beneath the cortile. All the rooms seem to have had an upper floor, but the ceiling varies in height from *ca.* 2.20 (136) to *ca.* 4.00 (138). There is a small light well, 153, with the aid of which (and with some outside lighting) all the rooms were fairly well illuminated on the ground as well as on the first floor. This house is perhaps better adapted to the needs of a community dwelling than either the *Casa a Graticcio* or the houses with tetrastyle atria.

Another excellent example of a house built about a small peristyle and adapted to the needs of a community dwelling is found in Pompeii IX, v, 18-21, a house of special interest since Van Buren's recent identification of the painting which recalls the *Hermes* of Praxiteles.[6]

[1] *Cf.* the cortili of Pompeii, I, vii, 2-3, of the *Casa a Graticcio* at Herculaneum, and of the house at the N. E. corner of the forum at Timgad.

[2] *Not. Scavi*, 1910, 447-8. With regard to the room with two columns supporting the lintel, Spano compares the two side rooms of IX, i, 20 (*Casa di Epidio Rufo*), the " exedra " of VI, xii, 2 (*Casa del Fauno*), which is, incidentally, the room of the Alexander mosaic, a room of II, ii, 4 (??), and several houses at Priene. We may add the palace at Tiryns, and Delos III, N. The latter house has a very strange series of three rooms which communicate with each other by large bays of three openings, each with two columns or two pilasters of oblong section with rounded edges. Compare also Pergamum, House *A* (*Ath. Mitt.*, xxix, 1904, 116-120, pl. 7), a house which was rebuilt in the period of the Roman empire. Various other examples could be cited. This is a typical arrangement of the megaron.

With the plan of this house, compare that of Delos II, F, but note the different orientation. See below, section II, A, v.

[3] Fig. 5. *Not. Scavi*, 481-484, pl. I.

[4] *Ibid.*, 481. *Cf.* Delos VI, H.

[5] In the opinion of Spano (*ibid.*, 483), hardly a balcony. A balcony would have been desirable but not absolutely necessary as a means of communication on the first floor.

[6] A. W. VAN BUREN, " Further Pompeian Studies ", *Mem. Amer. Acad. in Rome*, X, 1932, 38-40. *Cf.* SOGLIANO, *Not. Scavi*, 1878, 263-269; A. MAU, *Bull. d. Inst.*, 1880, 19-26. Sogliano (*loc. cit.*, 269) thought that the passage leading to the W. entrance probably had a compluvium in the roof corresponding to what he considered a small impluvium. Mau (*loc. cit.*, 24) thought that this basin, " *a guisa d'impluvio* ", was a vestige of an earlier disposition of the house. Fig. 6.

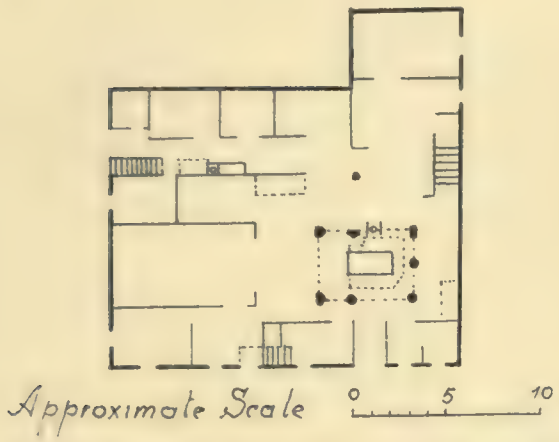

Fig. 6. Pompeii, IX, v, 18-21. This house faces approximately southeast.
From *Bull. d. Inst.*, 1879, plan opposite p. 22.

This house, also, has two entrances and shows various signs of having been remodelled. From the street on the S., one enters the porticoes surrounding the peristyle, which consists of eight columns or pilasters between which runs a low wall except on the W. side. Within there is a second low wall and a deep piscina. This peristyle (open area *ca.* 4.00-4.65 × 5.70 m.), which lies athwart the axis of the main entrance, is almost on line with the chief room of the house (*ca.* 5.35 × 7.80 m.), which faces E. onto the portico by a wide (*ca.* 3.30 m.) opening. This room appears to have been two stories in height, since the rooms lying to the S. and to the N. show clear signs of having had an upper floor at *ca.* 4.00 m., while the walls of the main room are preserved to a point considerably higher without showing any signs of an upper floor. Incidentally, we may note that this room bears no resemblance to a tablinum. Two staircases led directly from the street to the upper floor (or floors) and there was also a staircase inside, leading from the E. portico. The S. portico seems to have had a balcony above it. The walls are not preserved to an equal height on the other porticoes, except partly on the W., where there are no similar signs, although Mau assumed that there were galleries over the E. and W. porticoes.[1]

It is obvious that these houses resemble the *insulae* with cortili and corridors at Ostia more closely than either of the other " transitional " types, that they are much larger structures, and that they might be continued upward for three or four stories (but it is not likely that any of them was actually more than two stories high) without any fundamental alteration of their ground plans, except, perhaps, a slight enlargement of the cortili. Furthermore, the cortili of these houses resemble those of the *Casa dei Triclini* and the *Casa di Diana* and similar houses at Ostia more closely than do the tetrastyle atria or the light well of the *Casa a Graticcio*. The one main difference in this respect is the use of solid brick piers with the spans arched at Ostia, instead of the use of columns. This change would be expected in houses of several stories, especially when built as solidly as the houses at Ostia are built. Even so, the *Casa dei Triclini* had columns at the two ends of its cortile, and in other houses at Pompeii brick piers sometimes replace columns.[2] Further points of similarity are the high room of IX, v, 18-21 and the windows which open directly onto the cortile in VII, vi, 30 (*cf.* the *Casa di Diana* and *Casa dei Dipinti*). Of course, there are points of difference: the elaborate outer balconies often found at Ostia, and the

[1] Mau, *loc. cit.*, 25.
[2] *E. g.*, VI, iii, 3 (tetrastyle atrium, considered above); IX, ix, 1-2.

size and height and regularity of the houses at Ostia. Nevertheless, these houses at Pompeii, one already recognized as a Greek type, furnish closer parallels to the *insulae* with cortili and corridors at Ostia than do the the houses with tetrastyle atria.

Besides the three houses already considered, there are a number of other houses at Pompeii which have peristyles instead of atria, but such houses are often small and irregular. There are also houses built about light wells, somewhat similar to certain houses at Herculaneum. A few of the examples of the latter type which could be cited are the following:

VII, xii, 28 (*Casa del Balcone Pensile*). We may here note the balcony and the large room (*ca.* 5.35 × 8.50 m.), which faces S. and probably extended two stories in height, since there are clear indications of a staircase and a first floor on the W. at *ca.* 3.70 m., while the walls remain considerably higher without showing any sign of a first floor over the large room.

V, iii, 4. Not completely excavated. *Cf.* SOGLIANO, *Not. Scavi*, 1905, 203-213.

III, iv, 2-3. Unpublished (New Excavations).

We may lastly note Pompeii VI, xvi, 26, where an impluvium is preserved within a peristyle (?),[1] as if an atrium had actually been converted into a peristyle.

There is no question but that the development of balconies at Pompeii belongs to the same tradition that produced their extensive use at Ostia. Even the type supported by brick arches springing from the walls is found at Pompeii,[2] although as Maiuri rightly points out, the ordinary private house at Pompeii did not have walls sufficiently massive to support such constructions.[3] But we cannot be certain whether Southern Italy is leading the way in these innovations or following the lead of Rome.[4]

Likewise, the development of the impluvium which Maiuri has followed is of interest in the light of the houses at Ostia.[5] The most essential characteristic of the impluvium, however, was its correspondence with the compluvium. An impluvium with a raised border must necessarily have been as large as or larger than the opening in the roof. At Ostia we sometimes find a sunken basin in the cortile (*Casa del Tempio Rotondo*, also called *Casa ad Atrio*),[6] but the raised fountain also occurs (*Casa del Larario* — here the basin in its present form is late). Some houses have no basin whatever (*Casa dei Triclini*, *Casa dietro la Curia* also called *Caseggiato a Navate*).[6] But in none of these houses does the basin make any attempt to occupy the full open area. One cannot properly call such a basin an impluvium.

[1] *Cf.* SOGLIANO, *Not. Scavi*, 1908, 183-4, and fig. 1 on p. 181.

[2] MAIURI, *Contributi*...., 163-166. On the date, *cf.* CARRINGTON, *Antiquity*, vii, 1933, p. 146, note 10, and BOËTHIUS, "Remarks....", *A.J.A.*, xxxviii, 1934, p. 166, note 5.

[3] MAIURI, *loc. cit.*, 166.

[4] On the early history of balconies, see MÜFID, *Stockwerkbau*, 51-54. Balconies were known in the Athens of the Pisistratids. See ARISTOTLE, *Oec.*, ii, 4 (1347 a). We know from a fragment of Aristophanes (133, *cf.* POLLUX, ix, 39) that apartment houses in Athens had balconies in the Classical Age:

ἐπὶ τοῦ περιδρόμου στᾶσα τῆς συνοικίας.

[5] MAIURI, *loc. cit.*, 169-172.

[6] These names, in my opinion, are misleading, for reasons given in the descriptions of these houses below.

II. THE HOUSES AT OSTIA AND SIMILAR HOUSES ELSEWHERE

Let us now dismiss the houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum and turn to Ostia in order that we may determine more precisely the characteristics of the houses there. First of all, it is evident that one cannot properly speak of the houses at Ostia as belonging to only one type, although it is sometimes the practice of scholars to do so.[1] At least three types, apparently, have been uncovered, and when the whole city has been excavated — an event which all archaeologists await with great interest — several more types may be discovered.[2] Such discovery may throw new light upon the houses already known, but we shall nevertheless make a tentative classification of the types already discovered, listing what appear the best examples of each group.

A. THE TYPE WITH CORTILE AND CORRIDORS

Casa dei Triclini
Casa del Tempio Rotondo (*Casa ad Atrio*)
Casa di Diana
Casa dei Dipinti (first section)
Casa di Apuleio (??)

B. THE TYPE WITH OPEN CORTILE

Casa del Larario
Casa dietro la Curia (*Caseggiato a Navate*)
Casa del Termopolio

C. THE TYPE WITHOUT CORTILE

Casa dei Dipinti (second and third sections)
Case tra Via della Fontana e Via delle Corporazioni
Caseggiati e Botteghe, Via del Campidoglio
Casa di Via dei Vigili (??)

Now taking each type separately, let us examine first the houses at Ostia, and then similar houses elsewhere.

[1] Calza (*Ostia: Guida Storico-monumentale*, 2d. ed., Rome, no date (1929), 65), recognizes a multiplicity of types, and classifying them mainly by the number of façades, seems quite justified in listing four types. I have attempted a classification based mainly on floor plans, with especial reference to historical types, though such a classification, at least at the present time, must necessarily be hypothetical and uncertain.

[2] The Italian Government is to be congratulated on the fact that, in these years of world-wide economic uncertainty, it has had not only the means but also the will to carry on its splendid programme of excavations.

A. THE TYPE WITH CORTILE AND CORRIDORS

1. OSTIA

The *Casa dei Triclini* lies on the S. side of the Decumanus Maximus just E. of the forum, and extends S. to the *Via della Casa dei Triclini*.[1] It is a large, rectangular house (*ca.* 42.10 × 30.50), and has shops, unconnected with the house proper, on both street fronts. The wide main entrance leads into the corridor which runs about three sides of the cortile. On each end (N. and S.), this cortile (*ca.* 12.10×7.15) was bounded by two columns and the piers at the corners; on each side, by three brick piers besides the piers at the front of the main room. The corridor about the cortile is *ca.* 5.80 m. wide on the N., and *ca.* 2.90 m. on the E. and W. Opposite the main entrance of the house, the chief room (*ca.* 9.03 × 7.08) opens directly onto the cortile with two columns forming an entrance of three bays. These columns together with the columns at the N. end of the cortile were practically on line with the main entrance of the house. The chief room seems to have had a vaulted ceiling, which perhaps threatened to collapse soon after construction. At least, two brick piers were built shortly after the original construction at the middle of the E. and W. sides, extending 0.66 m. beyond the wall, and at the same time, additions were made to the piers at the front of the room, extending them in turn to *ca.* 0.66 m. beyond the wall and thus throwing these front piers slightly out of line with the inner extensions of the N.E. and N.W. piers of the cortile.

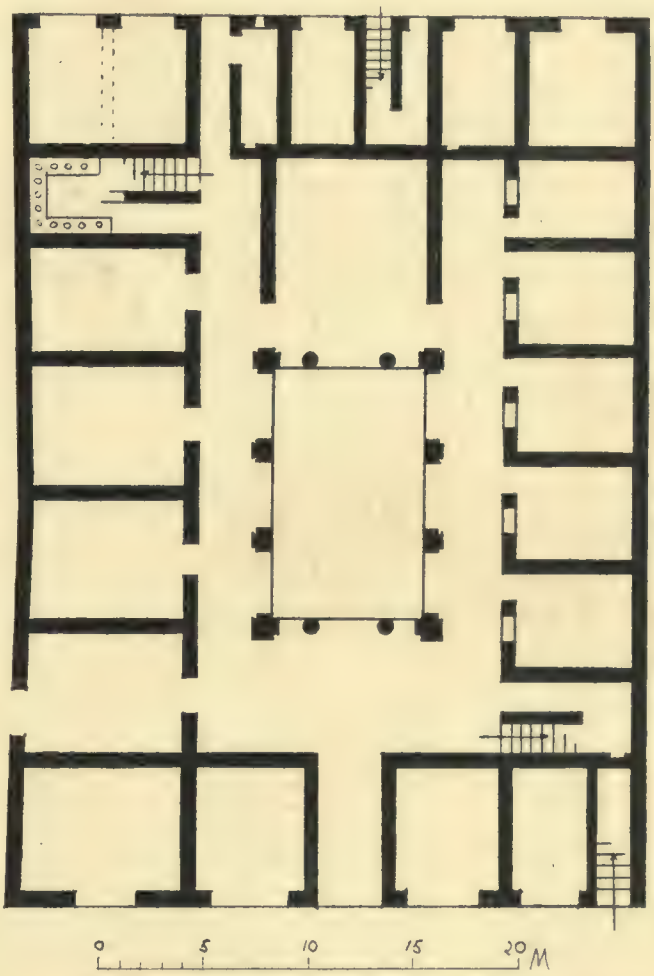

Fig. 7. The *Casa dei Triclini* at Ostia. This house faces approximately north.

After G. Calza, *Ostia, Guida,...* 2d. ed., p. 59, fig. 20. By kind permission of Commendatore Calza.

On the W. side of the corridor about the cortile open first a small room containing a staircase,[2] then five rooms each with a high window beside the door, opening onto the corridor. In these rooms, remains of the cornice appear at *ca.* 3.60 m. On the E. corridor, there are four slightly larger rooms, each with a central door and a window above the door.[3] The walls of these rooms (in which were later built triclinia in masonry) remain to a maximum height of almost five meters, but there is no indication of

[1] Fig. 7. All the descriptions of houses at Ostia in the present paper were made from personal observations. Additional details may often be found in the excellent descriptions of Calza. On the present house, *cf.* Guido Calza, *Ostia: Guida Storico-monumentale*, 2d. ed., Rome, no date (1929), 168-171. This house is dated by brick stamps and construction in the first half of the second century A. D.

All measurements are given in meters for the sake of convenience. If they were given in Roman feet, they would often appear without fractions. There is a distinct tendency towards standardization and round figures in these houses, especially in the width of doors, windows, and walls. Note also that the chief room of this house is very nearly the same size as the chief room of the *Casa dei Dipinti I.*

The plans regularly give the original construction of the houses in so far as I have been able to determine it.

[2] Both this and the N. outer staircase are indicated on the plan, but the original disposition with regard to both requires further study.

[3] The walls of only one room remain to a height sufficient to show the bottom of the window. The height of the window is estimated from the windows on the W. corridor, since the width is the same (*ca.* 1.18 m. = four R. feet).

the original ceiling. The tops of the windows above the doors presumably reached a height of *ca.* 4.75 m. Near the S. end of the E. corridor, there is a staircase, under which is a large latrine, and beyond which the corridor, at a reduced width (and with a cornice at 3.10 m.) extends to the *Via della Casa dei Triclini*, where there is a secondary entrance into the house.

Besides the two inner staircases, there are outer staircases on both street fronts. The S. outer staircase probably led only to the apartments above the shops on this front on the second and third (?) floors, since the rooms over these shops, and presumably the floors above, were at a slightly different level from that of the rooms above the W. section of the house proper. [1]

The *Casa del Tempio Rotondo* (*Casa ad Atrio*), [2] a late but interesting house, lies on the N. side of the *Via del Tempio Rotondo* (*ca.* 23.75 × 19.85). [3] There are two shops facing the street and having no communication with the house. In the middle of the façade, a wide entrance, flanked by brick pilasters, leads into the corridors which run about three sides of the cortile. This cortile (*ca.* 6.00 m. square, if the two steps on the N. leading up to the main room are included) is flanked by brick piers on three sides, of which those on the S. side are adjusted to allow a wide opening on line with the entrance. Between all these piers runs a step-parapet. In the centre of the cortile lies a piscina or fountain, *ca.* 2.20 m. square and 0.60 m. deep, which itself contains a central structure *ca.* 1.20 m. square. The E. corridor is *ca.* 1.77 m. wide, the S. and W. corridors, *ca.* 3.28 m. On the fourth side, two steps lead up to the main room, the lintel of which was supported by two marble columns (*ca.* 2.58 m., including capitals and bases). This room is *ca.* 6.00 m. square. [4] Being considerably larger than any other room of the house, and *ca.* 0.40 m. above the level of the other rooms, it doubtless extended to the level of the ceiling of the first floor. [5]

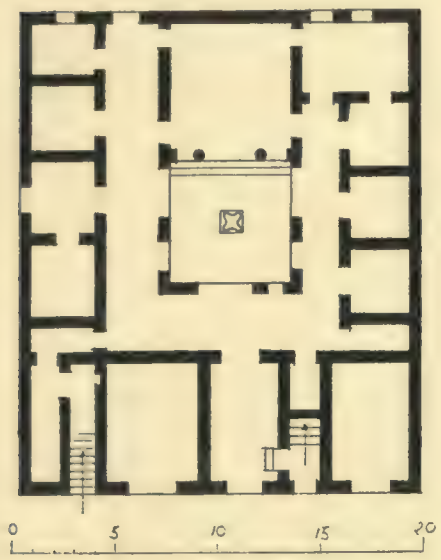

Fig. 8. The *Casa del Tempio Rotondo* at Ostia. This house faces south. After Calza, *Ostia: Guida...*, 2d. ed., p. 59, fig. 20. By kind permission of Commendatore Calza.

Off the E. corridor open four rooms and a small passageway, the walls of which are all (except the rear wall) very slovenly built and evidently of a later period than the rest of the house. Off the W. corridor open (one of them indirectly) three elegant little rooms with hypocausts, and with floors and walls of marble veneering. The middle room has an outside entrance. In the N. W. corner is a small room at a lower

[1] It is also noteworthy that the E. stairs in two flights (if the second flight was equal to the first) would lead to a higher level (perhaps 7.50-8.00 m.) than would the S. stairs in three flights (perhaps 6.00-6.50 m.), if the third flight was equal to the second. The floor level of the E. corridor at the S. end is below the level of the small room adjoining on the W., but the cornices of both rooms are on the same level. Likewise the floor level of the S. shops and the S. stairs is perhaps slightly higher than that of the house proper.

[2] I do not think this cortile bears any relationship to the Roman atrium, and therefore I prefer not to use the name, *Casa ad Atrio*.

[3] Fig. 8. *Cf.* Calza, *Ostia: Guida....*, 2d. ed., 157; also C. C. Briggs, *MAAR.*, viii, 1930, p. 167, pl. 54.

[4] On the size of this room and on the fact that its size corresponds with that of the cortile, compare the *Maison des Muses* at Althiburos. This is practically the size also of the main room of a house at Thuburbo Maius. On both houses, see below (Africa).

[5] The side and rear walls of this main room are not precisely the same width as the walls of the court, and are built with a distinctly inferior type of brick. Though quite different in appearance from the division walls of the E. rooms, these walls may be of about the same period, since a similar mixture of construction is found in a building a considerable distance W. of the regular area of the excavations, near the bank of the Tiber. Regardless of the date of the walls of this room, however, the disposition of the N. E. and N. W. piers of the cortile seems to indicate that such a room was included in the original plan of this house. There was once an entrance N. of this main room, evidently belonging to an earlier house at a lower level. Perhaps the E. wall of the present house belonged in part to this earlier house.

level, probably the kitchen and furnace room. Next to this room at the N. end of the corridor is another outside entrance. At the S. W. corner is a still smaller room, also at a low level, which has an opening into the hypocaust beneath the next room. In the S.W. corner of this little room is a terra-cotta drainpipe enclosed in late masonry, which may have been a sewer from a latrine on the first floor. There may have been a latrine here on the ground floor also, but if so, the room must have had some sort of floor at the level of the court.[1] A regular recess for a drainpipe is found in the E. wall of the staircase near by. This staircase presumably led to the second floor (perhaps the first also), since it is apparently arranged for two or more flights, while the wider staircase just E. of the main entrance of the house seems to have led only to the first floor, since there is apparently no structural provision for a second flight. The division walls of the E. rooms appear very unsubstantial (*ca.* 0.37 m. thick, very poorly built), and the height of the house on this side is accordingly problematical. The walls of the rest of the house are for the most part one and one-half Roman feet thick (*ca.* 0.44 m.) instead of two feet, usual in other houses.

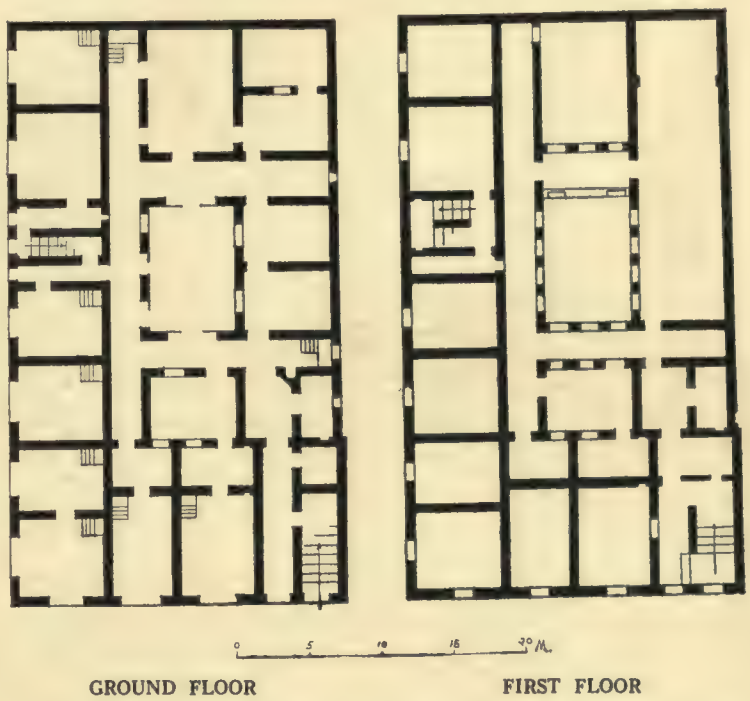

Fig. 9. The *Casa di Diana* at Ostia. This house faces south. After CALZA, *Ostia: Guida...*, 2d. ed., p. 58, fig. 19. By kind permission of Commendatore Calza.

The *Casa di Diana* is located on the N.E. corner of the *Via della Casa di Diana* and the *Via dei Balconi* (*ca.* 40 × 23 m.).[2] It has six shops along the latter street and three along the former (counting the shop on the corner twice). The main entrance is located near the S.E. corner, and leads through a dark passageway to the corridor which runs about the cortile on the S. (*ca.* 1.86 m. wide), W. (2.05 m.), and N. (2.41 m.). On the S. and N. ends of the cortile (*ca.* 8.80 × 5.80 m.) are large arched doorways (*ca.* 3.55 m. wide, and roughly the same in height at the center).[3] There were three doors or windows of varying width on the W. side of the cortile,[4] although there were no inner rooms behind the W. corridor. On the E. are two large windows, each opening directly onto a room. These two rooms have three doors on line in their division walls. Thus the cortile is practically surrounded by corridors. Against the E. wall of the cortile between the two windows is built a large covered fountain, but this is late in its present form. N. of the cortile and separated from it by the corridor is the main room of the house (*ca.* 8.35 × 5.50 m.). The width of its doorway facing the corridor and cortile is *ca.* 1.23 m. in its present form.[5] There were originally two

[1] A similar arrangement of two latrines, one on the first and one on the ground floor, is found in the *Casa a Graticcio* at Herculaneum.

[2] Fig. 9. *Cf.* CALZA, *Ostia: Guida....*, 2d. ed., 133-135; *Not. Scavi*, 1914, 248-251; 1915, 327-333 (Mithraeum); 1917, 312-326. Dated in the second century A. D.

[3] The doorway on the N. was later partly closed. Both doorways had low, short walls on either side of the narrow entrance into the cortile.

[4] The N. aperture was a window; the middle, a door with a parapet on one side; the S., probably planned as a door but changed into a window during the original construction.

[5] The E. face of this doorway is certainly not the original one. Perhaps the doorway was originally somewhat narrower. It is noteworthy that the width of the doorway is not an even number of R. feet. Of the three other doorways of this room, one is 1.165 (four R. feet would theoretically be 1.184), the two others, 1.01-1.02 m. (three and one-half R. feet would be 1.036). The two windows on the E. side of the cortile and the window and door of the large room S. of the cortile are all *ca.* five R. feet wide. Slight variations occur here, consistently less than the theoretically correct measurements, counting the R. foot as 0.296 (*cf.* ANGELO SEGRÉ, *Metrologia e Circolazione Monetaria degli Antichi*, Bologna,

doorways in the W. wall of this room and one in the E. wall. Two of these doors were blocked at a comparatively early date, and the third at a very late date. This room certainly extended to the ceiling of the first floor (probably *ca.* 7.00 — 7.50 m.), and had three windows on the S. wall at the level of the first floor, which apparently received light across the corridor from the cortile. There was also a small window at the N. end of the W. wall on the level of the first floor. E. of this main room are situated two rooms, the rear one of which received practically no illumination.[1] Later these rooms were converted into a Mithraeum. S. of the cortile beyond the corridor was an elegant room with a flat painted ceiling and a large door and window opening onto the corridor.[2] This room in turn illuminated (but not very successfully) the two small rooms lying to the S. A doorway also led into one of these rooms. There is a large latrine E. of the entrance passageway with a small outside window looking onto an angiportum and with a drain recess coming from above and a sewer below.

There were probably two inner staircases, one in the S.E. extension of the corridor (the lines in the plaster here clearly indicate its presence), and the other in the N.W. extension. Presumably these were of wood and led only to the first floor. There are two outer staircases, a comparatively narrow one near the middle of the W. façade, with the first four and the last steps in travertine and the rest in brick, and a very wide staircase at the S.E. corner of the building with the whole first flight in travertine. This wide staircase apparently reached in two flights the same level (second story) that the narrow staircase reached in three flights. The first floor is unusually well preserved (partly restored, especially the outer walls) because in this house, unlike the other *insulae* at Ostia, the ground floor has vaulted ceilings in the inner rooms and corridors, except the rooms S. of the cortile. The plan of the first floor is almost identical with that of the ground floor, except E. of the cortile, where three small rooms take the place of two on the ground floor. The present walls of these rooms, however, are late and very thin.[3] The disposition and lighting of the rooms S. of the cortile are much the same as these arrangements on the ground floor. The rooms over the shops were apparently reached from the shops themselves, with one or two exceptions. These rooms were all illuminated by the single window above the door of the shop, though later some had inner windows or doors. The second floor was served by an outer balcony which extended the full distance of both outer façades, and there was doubtless at least one more story.[4]

1928, 137, 139). Many other doors and windows in these houses at Ostia are almost exactly four or five Roman feet. E. B. Van Deman (*The Atrium Vestae*, Washington, 1909, 17 note 9), after giving the measurement of a series of doorways in the Atrium Vestae, points out that six R. feet (the width of these doors) is a frequent measurement throughout the building.

[1] This may have been so designed purposely; *cf.* Calza, *Not. Scavi*, 1915, 327. It would hardly have been possible, however, to light the room properly except from the outside of the house. See p. 27, note 2.

[2] At a late period, this room was converted into a stable. *Cf. Appendix Vergiliana, Catal.*, x, 6-11:

et hoc negat Tryphonis aemuli domum
negare nobilem insulamue Caeruli,
ubi iste post Sabinus ante Quinctio
bidente dicit attodisse forcipe
comata colla, ne Cytorio iugo
premente dura uulnus ederet iuba.

(*et* Scaliger, *neque* Codd. Other MSS. variations).

The contrast between *domus* and *insula* is noteworthy. We may understand *ignobilem* with the latter.

[3] Elsewhere on this floor the walls are thin when they are not the extension of the walls of the ground floor. Thin walls are also found at the head (N.) of the S. staircase (not the walls of this staircase itself), and the S. and middle walls of the W. staircase. The other walls on the first floor measure about two R. feet (0.59 m.), like those of the ground floor. At the S. E. corner, however, the walls are considerably more substantial (*ca.* 0.81 m.), because of the strain which the heavy masonry balcony puts upon them.

[4] It appears to me doubtful that any of these houses at Ostia extended more than four stories, owing to the size of the walls and to the fact that apartments often extend over two floors. The walls are regularly two R. feet thick, with an occasional wall one and one-half, or even one R. foot (rare; ? late). In this house two walls of the W. staircase were one and one-half R. feet. The main walls of the highest *insula* extant, the *Casa di Via Giulio Romano* in Rome, were approximately three R. feet thick; some of them were reduced on the fourth floor to two R. feet or less. In this house, however, masonry division walls occur on the third and fourth (and presumably on the fifth) floors above the vaulted ceilings of the second floor. Such walls usually measure *ca.* 0.36 m. This house was at least six stories high; it may have been higher. The highest wall extant, the rear wall of the fifth floor, is *ca.* 0.60 m. thick. At some point, the walls of the *Casa di Diana* were apparently reduced, since in the excavation, an arch 0.32 m. thick was found, which Calza assigns to the fourth floor (*Not. Scavi*, 1917, 322). But, in my opinion, the existence of a fourth floor is doubtful.

The illumination of the small rooms S. of the cortile, to say nothing of the rooms of the N. E. corner (on the ground floor later converted into a Mithraeum), was evidently very inadequate. On the other hand, abundant light on the W. side of the cortile was practically wasted. Accordingly, the openings here on the ground floor were later walled up, and on the first floor, doorways or windows were opened into the rooms above the shops on the W. façade. Certain rooms in the *Casa del Larario* and most of the third and fourth (?? and fifth) floors of the *Casa di Via Giulio Romano* in Rome were very dark.[1] There is also literary evidence to the effect that *insulae* in Rome were often very poorly illuminated.[2]

Fig. 10. The *Casa dei Dipinti* at Ostia. This house faces west.
After *Mon. Ant.*, XXVI, 1920, CALZA, pl. I. By kind permission of the R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.

The first (S.) section of the *Casa dei Dipinti*, an independent unit,[3] lies on the N. E. corner of the *Via della Casa di Diana* (*ca.* 26.70 m.) and the *Via dei Dipinti* (*ca.* 21.10 m.). The main entrance, flanked by the usual brick pilasters, is on the latter street. A wide doorway leads into a passageway, at the end of which, beyond another doorway without a threshhold or door, lies the central corridor of the house in the form of an "L", which runs about the cortile on the S. side (*ca.* 2.90 m. wide) and partly on the W. side (*ca.* 3.30 m.), extending beyond

[1] On this house in Rome, see below, section II B, Rome.

[2] MARTIAL, iii, 30, 3:

Unde tibi togula est et fuscae pensio cellae?

JUVENAL, iii, 223-225:

Si potes auelli circensibus, optima Sorae
aut Fabrateriae domus aut Frusinone paratur,
quanti nunc tenebras unum conducis in annum.

[3] Fig. 10. On the first floor, the W. apartment had its entrance on the landing of the stairway N. of this first section of the house.

Cf. CALZA, *Ostia: Guida...*, 2d. ed., 136-138; "*Gli Scavi Recenti nell'Abitato di Ostia*", *Mon. Ant.*, xxvi, 1920, 321-430. *Cf.* the reconstruction by F. O. Lawrence (CALZA, "*Le Origini Latine dell'Abitazione Moderna*", *Architettura ed Arti Decorative*, 1923, fasc. 1-2, figs. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16. Innumerable brick stamps were found which are assigned to *ca.* A. D. 127 (*Mon. Ant.*, xxvi, 1920, 333).

In this house, the stucco often remains intact. Accordingly, my measurements sometime include the stucco.

the cortile S. E. to the E. wall of the house (*ca.* 4.40 m.).[1] Opposite the entrance lies a doorway onto the cortile, not quite in line with the doorways of the entrance corridor. The cortile (*ca.* 8.30 × 5.10) has two other large doorways: one on the S. in line with the doorway of the room lying beyond the corridor, and one on the E. (3.50 m. wide), with three windows above (restored), all opening onto the main room of the house. This room (*ca.* 6.80 × 8.80 m.) has a black and white mosaic floor and preserves its wall painting. The walls are preserved almost to the height of the ceiling of the first floor, and although the springing of the vaulted ceiling over the corridor on the S. can be observed on the outside of the S. wall of this room, there is no indication of a vaulted ceiling at the same height on the inside. Perhaps the large dimensions of the room made a vaulted ceiling inadvisable. At least there are no brick piers in the room and the walls are no thicker (0.59 m.) than the other walls of the house. Certainly no masonry division wall could have been supported above the ceiling of this room.[2] Such a consideration might possibly warrant the assumption that there was a high room on the second floor, which extended to the level of the ceiling of the third floor, just as this room on the ground floor extends to the level of the ceiling of the first floor.[3] It will be noted that the main room here lies on the E. side of the cortile, facing W., and though on the side opposite the entrance, it is not in line with the entrance. The orientation of the main rooms at Ostia, however, seems to be conditioned by the size of the plot occupied by the individual house and especially by the location of the house in relation to the street. Still, the plan of this house is unusual, since a doorway on one side of the cortile opens onto the large garden which lies N. of this section and serves especially the second and third sections.[4] The wall which separated the cortile from this garden does not extend in height beyond the level of the ceiling of the ground floor. Thus, the cortile appears little more than a recess in the N. section of the house, and not only does the main room open directly onto the cortile, but also, a smaller room (*ca.* 4.60 × 5.10 m.), W. of the cortile has a large window opening directly onto the cortile. This room, too, seems to have extended to the level of the ceiling of the first floor.[5] The identification of this house, however, as belonging to the type with cortile and corridors seems to be justified in the light of variations in other houses of the same type at Ostia.

On the S. side of the central corridor lies a small room (*ca.* 4.35 m. square) with a wide doorway (2.58 m.) on line with a doorway leading into the cortile. This room, also, has its wall painting preserved, and its mosaic floor. To protect the former a ceiling has been restored by the administration at the original height (*ca.* 3.80 m. to the bottom of the rafters). At the S. W. corner of the central corridor is another entrance opening onto the *Via della Casa di Diana*. This entrance is shown to be secondary by its narrow width, its brick (instead of mosaic) floor, and the absence of the usual brick pilasters outside the doorway. Beside this passageway is located the staircase leading from the street to the upper floors. E. of this staircase on the first floor is a small room possibly utilized

[1] Professor Van Buren calls my attention to the fact that the N. walls of this corridor are built over the line of the old city wall, or very close to it.

[2] *Cf.* the discussion of the main room of the *Casa dei Triclini* above. Masonry division walls (usually *ca.* 0.36 m.) are found resting on vaulted ceilings in the *Casa di Via Giulio Romano* in Rome, but these vaults spring from walls *ca.* 0.86 m. thick, and the rooms covered by these vaults (*ca.* 5.60, 5.10 × 6.90 m.) are not as large as the main rooms of the *Casa dei Triclini* or the *Casa dei Dipinti* I.

[3] Calza (*e. g.*, *Capitolium*, v, 1929, 526) considers the second floor the *piano nobile* (*il primo piano, sopra all'ammezzato*), as the elaborate balconies serving this floor in some houses might suggest. It may well be that there was a high room, then, on this *piano nobile*, and that sometimes apartments extended in height over the second and third floors, just as they often extend over the ground and first floors. There is some evidence, however, which indicates that the upper floors brought a lower rental and housed a lower class of tenant. *Cf.* DIODORUS, xxxi, 18, 2; PLUTARCH, *Sulla*, 1; MARTIAL, vii, 20, 20.

[4] This garden reminds one of the beautiful passage in ST. AUGUSTINE, *Conf.*, ix, 10, 23 (*C.S.E.L.*, i, pp. 215-216):

" .... *prouenerat.... ut ego et ipsa soli staremus incumbentes ad quandam fenestram, unde hortus intra domum, quae nos habebat, prospectabatur, illic apud Ostia Tiberina, ubi remoti a turbis post longi itineris laborem instaurabamus nos nauigationi* ".

This house may well have been an inn at a period somewhat later than its original construction (*cf.* CALZA, *Mon. Ant.*, 1920, 374), but the house had been abandoned before the time of Augustine (*cf.* CALZA, *loc. cit.*, 361).

[5] This room and the room W. of it (which appears to have had a ceiling on the ground floor) correspond to the northernmost pair of rooms in each of the other two sections of the *Casa dei Dipinti*. Both of these latter rooms extended to the level of the ceiling of the first floor.

as a kitchen (?? with a chimney run out the window) and a latrine. At least a late drainpipe is found in the N. E. corner of this room, emptying into the sewer.[1] The floor of the second story (restored in part) is *ca.* 3.70 m. above the floor of the first story (restored in part). The floor of the first story is *ca.* 3.90 m. above the ground floor. The second floor was apparently served by external balconies similar to those of the *Casa di Diana.*[2]

The combination of cortile with corridors and high room found in this type of *insula* at Ostia has been considered a developed form of atrium and tablinum,[3] but the resemblance is certainly superficial. The evolution of the impluvium at Pompeii has been discussed above, and its fundamental difference from the basins for fountains or piscinae at Ostia has been pointed out.[4] At Ostia, the cortile of the *Casa di Apuleio*, the nearest of all to a Corinthian atrium, measures roughly 7.50 × 2.50 m. (irregular); the basin in the center measures only *ca.* 1.90 × 0.90 m. It is *ca.* 0.30 m. deeper than the level of the cortile, but it appears to have had a raised border. In the *Casa del Tempio Rotondo*, the cortile measures about 6.00 m. square, the basin only 2.20 m. square. Surely this resembles not so much an atrium and impluvium as a small Greek peristyle with a fountain. Its close relationship with the plan of the *Casa dei Triclini*, the cortile of which no one could mistake for an atrium, is self-evident. As already pointed out, the brick piers and arches of the cortile doubtless replaced columns for the sake of stability (? and economy) when the type was extended into the air. Even at Pompeii, piers are found (*e. g.*, IX, ix, 1-2). Still, columns are found at both ends of the *Casa dei Triclini.*

Another striking contrast between the cortile at Ostia with its surrounding corridors and the atrium lies in the fact that the former gives the appearance of being an open space surrounded by corridors, comparatively shallow, but the Tuscan atrium, quite regardless of how it originated,[5] certainly gives the impression of being a room with a comparatively small hole in the roof. Even the tetrastyle atria retain this appearance, rarely violating the canon of Vitruvius, which prescribes that the impluvium should not be more than one-third the width of the atrium.[6] In this respect again, the houses at Ostia resemble small Greek peristyles, which give the distinct impression of being open spaces surrounded by porticoes, as they doubtless were in fact. In the *Casa del Tempio Rotondo*, the width of the cortile is greater than the combined widths of the E. and W. corridors. In the *Casa di Apuleio*, the corridor varies from *ca.* 2.00 to *ca.* 1.50 m. Owing to the length of the open area here and to the comparatively low columns, this, too, doubtless gave the impression of being an open area surrounded by

[1] The fact that this drainpipe does not run above the first floor makes it practically certain that this was a sewer from a latrine or sink on the first floor. It is distinctly late, however.

[2] But see CALZA, *Mon. Ant.*, xxvi, 1920, 333.

[3] *E. g.*, by Carrington (*Antiquity*, vii, 1933, 147).

[4] We may note, however, that Pompeii I, vi, 2, has a low wall between the four pillars of the atrium, thus inclosing the impluvium. The wall is broken on one side by the well head.

[5] At present there are a large number of theories on the origin of the atrium and its surrounding rooms, but none of these is convincing.

[6] VITRUVIUS, VI, iii, 6.

porticoes. The width of the open area is greater than the width of either corridor (leaving the stylobate out of consideration), but it is not much greater.[1] One cannot be certain about this example, and the Corinthian atrium itself, of course, is a hybrid form.[2] Usually the Corinthian atrium is low, like the small Greek peristyle, and, in fact, they cannot be distinguished merely by this criterion. Tetrastyle atria, on the other hand, often have the great height so characteristic of the Tuscan atrium, which contributes to their appearing definitely rooms with openings in the roofs. In the *Casa di Apuleio*, a column measures *ca.* 3.55 m. (without capital but with base). In the atrium of the orator Crassus in Rome, the columns were not more than twelve R. feet, or about the same height as those in the *Casa di Apuleio.*[3] In the *Casa d'Epidio Rufo* at Pompeii (IX, i, 20), however, the sixteen Doric columns of the Corinthian atrium are *ca.* 4.50 (including capitals). This atrium presents a very different appearance from the monumental Tuscan atria: it is clearly a hybrid form of the peristyle and the atrium, and it is noteworthy that this house has no peristyle, but merely a porch opening onto a garden in the rear. Probably the Corinthian atrium here was felt to serve the purpose of a peristyle. Still the impluvium (*ca.* 4.23 × 7.60 m.) is very definitely an impluvium, not a viridarium, and is less than two-fifths the width of the atrium (*ca.* 11.50 × 17.30). In Pompeii, VI, ix, 6 (*Casa dei Dioscuri*), the impluvium is *ca.* 4.57 m. square, the Corinthian atrium *ca.* 11.05 × 11.20 m. In VI, viii, 21, the impluvium is *ca.* 2.40 × 3.50 m., the Corinthian atrium *ca.* 8.50 × 9.80 m. (ignoring certain late walls). There are real peristyles in connection with both these latter houses.

The *Casa d'Epidio Rufo* was built before the Roman period,[4] and from literary evidence we know that at about 100 B.C. the Corinthian atrium with marble columns was being introduced into Rome itself, where the orator Crassus placed in his atrium six columns of marble from Mount Hymettus, imported to adorn a scaena during his aedileship, at a time when there were as yet no marble columns in public buildings.[5] The columns were not more than twelve R. feet high, as mentioned above. But M. Scaurus in his aedileship decorated the scaena with 360 (*sic!*) columns of Lucullan marble, and took the largest of these, 38 R. feet high, and set them up in his (tetrastyle) atrium.[6] The columns of Crassus did not escape criticism,[7] and those of Scaurus shocked even the generations

[1] The *Casa di Apuleio* at Ostia, however, is a very heterogeneous construction. Many different periods are observable in its walls, and the bases of the columns do not match, though the columns do.

[2] *Cf.* F. Marx, "*Die Entwicklung des Römischen Hauses*", *Neue Jahrbücher*, xxiii, 1909, 551-552; E. Pernice, *Pompeji*, Leipzig, 1926, 34; F. v. Duhn, *Pompeji*,...., Leipzig, 1918, 61.

[3] Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 7.

[4] Mau, *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst*, 2d. ed., Leipzig, 1908, 325.

[5] Pliny, *N. H.*, xvii, 6 (Codd. *iv*, but *cf.* xxxvi, 7 and 114). The aedileship of L. Licinius Crassus is dated between 105 and 103 B. C. by N. Häpke, in Pauly-Wissowa, xiii, 258.

[6] Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 5-6. Compare *moles* here with *moliar* in the lines of Horace quoted above. Asconius (23) says that four columns were used.

[7] Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 114.

to come. Pliny implies that even in his own day, no one had an atrium with columns of such size.[1] Small wonder that Horace could write (*Odes*, III, i, 45-6; *cf.* II, x, 5-8):

cur inuidendis postibus et nouo
sublime ritu moliar atrium?

In the *Casa delle Nozze d'Argento* at Pompeii (V, ii, A), the Corinthian columns are 6.86 m. high,[2] or about twenty-three R. feet. This was once the highest tetrastyle atrium known in Pompeii,[2] but the Corinthian columns of the *Casa d'Obellio Firmo* (IX, xi, 1-4) are *ca.* 7.30 m. high; and even these fall far short of the columns of the atrium of Scaurus. In the *Casa del Fauno* at Pompeii (VI, xii, 2), the main atrium is Tuscan, and the Corinthian columns of the secondary, tetrastyle atrium are 5.87 m. high.[3]

Marx makes the statement that one cannot find an important distinction between the Corinthian atrium of the *Casa d'Epidio Rufo* (Pompeii, IX, i, 20) and the peristyle of the *Casa di Pansa* (Pompeii, VI, vi, 1).[4] Furthermore, he points out that the marble plan of Rome, fragment 173 (Jordan), shows peristyles of twelve columns in three houses apparently with atria and peristyles, just as the *Casa dei Dioscuri* (Pompeii, VI, ix, 6) has a Corinthian atrium with twelve columns. He cites the houses of Delos to prove the Greek (Corinthian) origin of this type. Doubtless the Corinthian atrium is modelled after the small Greek peristyle, but the open area of the peristyle of the *Casa di Pansa* (*ca.* 6.15 × 11.00 m.) has more than twice the area of the impluvium of the *Casa d'Epidio Rufo*, and has a piscina in the center (*ca.* 1.88 × 6.55 m.). The porticoes are *ca.* 3.55-3.60 m. wide. The columns of the peristyle of the *Casa di Pansa* are *ca.* 4.50 m. high (including capitals), or approximately the same height as the columns of the *Casa d'Epidio Rufo*. As for the houses cited from the marble plan, the open area appears to be larger in proportion to the size of the complete area (open area plus porticoes) than it is in the *Casa d'Epidio Rufo*. It must be admitted however that the atrium of the *Casa dei Dioscuri* bears a close resemblance to a small peristyle.

The Roman atrium is a distinct complex with cubicula, alae, and tablinum, although the Greek peristyle and its surrounding rooms sometimes appear rather similar with small side rooms, *exedrae*, and *oecus*. When the lintel of the *oecus* is supported by two columns, especially if the *oecus* opens not onto the portico, but directly onto the open area, the dispo-

[1] PLINY, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 7-8.
[2] MAU, *op. cit.*, 317.
[3] MAU, *op. cit.*, 310.
[4] FRIEDRICH MARX, "*Die Entwicklung des Römischen Hauses*", *Neue Jahrbücher*, xxiii, 1909, 552. We may note that in the middle house of F. U. R. 173 (JORDAN, *Forma Urbis Romae*), the peristyle and its surrounding porticoes occupy a square area (each side 0.055 m. on the stone), which is precisely equal to the area of what appears to be the atrium complex of the same house. If the scale here is 300:1 (*cf.* JORDAN, *op. cit.*, 13), the side of this square was 16.50 m. For depth of porticoes and height of columns in small Greek peristyles, see the descriptions of the houses at Delos, given below.

sition may immediately be recognized as Greek.[1] The *Casa d'Epidio Rufo* shows the complex of the atrium in a modified form (note especially the centrally located *exedrae* taking the place of the ordinary alae), and accordingly bears more resemblance to the complex of the peristyle in the *Casa di Pansa* than it otherwise would. The *oecus* of the latter, however, is much larger than the tablinum of the former.

It is impossible to say just how much influence the Corinthian atrium had upon the development of houses of the type with cortile and corridors such as those at Ostia. It would appear, however, that the Corinthian atrium was a luxurious type, whereas we should expect the type of *insula* under consideration to be derived from the better class of popular dwellings, with a low portico that would easily allow the superposition of another portico. A superimposed portico seems to have been present in Pompeii VII, vi, 38, as pointed out above, and such porticoes were common at Olynthus and Delos.[2] One would seem justified, therefore, in presuming that Greek houses such as those at Pompeii were more influential in the development of the *insulae* with cortile and corridors than were the houses with Corinthian atria. It is evident, however, that Corinthian atria and small Greek peristyles are closely allied. Owing to the fact that the cortile of the houses at Ostia is practically identical in plan with that of many Greek houses, to be discussed below, I should prefer to assume that the presence of such atria as that of the *Casa d'Epidio Rufo* made the Greek cortile entirely natural and acceptable to the Romans rather than say that the Greek cortile of these houses at Ostia was greatly influenced by the Corinthian atrium. If the fountain in the center of the cortile is a Roman innovation, it would seem more correct to assume that both the developed *impluvia* cited by Maiuri[3] and the fountains of these houses at Ostia originally came from the peristyle or small garden, rather than to assume that the fountains of the houses at Ostia are a direct development of these *impluvia*.

It should also be noted that, as Marx points out,[4] the name of the old atrium was taken over in the Middle Ages with the significance of *vestibulum*, especially the porch (*Vorhalle*) of churches (which sometimes, however, is practically a peristyle; *cf.* the Basilica of S. Clemente in Rome, *etc.*). The name of the farmyard of the old rustic villa, *cohors*, came down in the Romance languages as the designation for an inner "court".[5] This is especially significant in the light of the statement of Gellius (*Noct. Att.*, xvi, 5, 2):[6]

[1] In the *Maison de Sertius* at Timgad (*cf.* A. BALLU, *Les Ruines de Timgad*, ii, Paris, 1903, 81-89) a room which may possibly be a tablinum opens directly onto a cortile. This cortile is apparently about 8.70 m. square, while its basin is only 8.70 × 1.65 (BALLU, *op. cit.*, ii, 83). If this complex descends from the Corinthian atrium, then it has undergone further Greek influence, which was very strong in N. Africa. See below, section II, vii.

[2] See the discussion of the houses of Olynthus and Delos below. It may be that the tetrastyle atria with surrounding balconies, discussed above, were modelled after or influenced by such porticoes. On colonnades of two stories at Pompeii, *cf.* MÜFID, *Stockwerkbau...*, 85.

[3] See above, p. 9.

[4] MARX, *loc. cit.*, 559.

[5] On *atrium*, see MEYER-LÜBKE, *Rom. Ety. Wörterb.*, 3rd. ed., Heidelberg, 1930, no. 760 (*Vorhof, Eingang, Friedhof*). On *cohors*, *cf. op. cit.*, no. 2032.

[6] But *cf.* FAY, *A.J.P.*, xxiv, 1903, 62-66.

Marx (*loc. cit.*, 555) makes the assumption that this meaning of atrium developed because the peristyle complex had become the main part of the house. He cites

> *Animaduerti enim quosdam hautquaquam indoctos uiros opinari uestibulum esse partem domus primorem, quam uulgus " atrium " uocat.*

An inscription from Africa indicates that *cohors* (*chorte(m)*) had attained in Africa, at least, approximately its modern meaning by the middle of the second century A.D.[1]

Let us now examine the main room of these houses at Ostia. Is it really a tablinum? The tablinum shows a strong tendency to become a passageway between the atrium and the peristyle in the late period at Pompeii, and some tendency to disappear altogether, occasionally being replaced by a more useful room.[2] No longer, at least at Pompeii and Herculaneum, was it the essential room that it once had been in the Roman house. Further, there seems to have been no objection to building an upper floor above the tablinum, according to the examples which Müfid cites in his study of upper floors at Pompeii.[3] But these examples are comparatively few, and I was seldom able to verify his conclusions from the ruins in their present state. That the tablinum was often a comparatively high room is undeniable, but it was by no means the only such room in a luxurious establishment. The Romans were accustomed to rooms of very generous proportions, and it is not surprising to find one or more such high rooms in the houses at Ostia, where they occur not only in the houses of the type with cortile and corridors, but also in the second and third sections of the *Casa dei Dipinti*, which do not have an internal cortile. The high rooms in such houses may have some connection with the *caua aedium testudinata*, or they may be modelled after the high room of the type with cortile and corridors.[4] The high room of this latter

(558) the *Casa del Fauno* at Pompeii (VI, xii, 2), where the chief room is quite obviously that which contained the famous Alexander mosaic. The comparative unimportance of the tablinum is shown by its plain pavement. But on this meaning of *vestibulum*, see Fay.

[1] *C.I.L.*, viii, 16368. For a similar inscription recently discovered, but without *cohors*, *cf. L'Année Épigraphique*, 1928, p. 1, no. 2.

[2] *Cf. Fiechter*, in PAULY-WISSOWA, *Zweite Reihe*, i, 980, *s. v., Röm. Haus. Cf.* the houses represented on F.U.R. 173 (Jordan). Even in the Samnite period at Pompeii, there was no tablinum in the *Casa dei Vettii* at Pompeii (VI, xv, 1). *Cf.* Van Buren, " Further Pompeian Studies ", *Mem. Amer. Acad. in Rome*, x, 1932, 22-3. Approximately a score of houses at Pompeii could be cited in which the tablinum is omitted and the atrium opens directly onto a portico at the rear. *Cf.* VII, vii, 5; VII, xiii, 4; VIII, v, 28. Occasionally the atrium opens directly onto a light well or cortile. *Cf.* I, vii, 2-3 (*Casa di M. Fabio Amandio*); IX, vi, 3 (here a narrow corridor intervenes). In this type, the impluvium and compluvium could well be omitted, thus resulting in a *cavum aedium testudinatum*. *Cf.* V, v, 2 (here the atrium has a high window in the W., outside, wall. *Cf.* MAU, *Röm. Mitt.*, x, 1895, 148-155, figs. 2-4). In the *Casa dell'Atrio a Mosaico* at Herculaneum, there is a modified Egyptian *oecus* behind the atrium, while the enclosed peristyle is located at the side of the atrium.

[3] MÜFID, *Stockwerkbau der Griechen und Römer*, Berlin, 1932, 28-36, figs. 1-22.

[4] The conclusions of M. Camaggio (*Rendiconti d. R. Acad. dei Lincei*, ser. 6, vol. 4, 1928, 25-44) concerning the nature of the *atrium testudinatum* are not acceptable. Marx (*loc. cit.*, 559) is of the opinion that the *atrium testudinatum* was necessitated by the crowded conditions of housing in cities, and had nothing in common with the *atrium Tuscanicum* but the name. Calza (*Mon. Ant.*, xxiii, 1916, 549-550) makes the assumption that the *atrium* (or rather *cavaedium*) *testudinatum*, not having the function of lighting surrounding rooms, no longer formed the center (*nè il cuore nè l'occhio*) of the house, and had itself, in order to be illuminated, to be placed directly or indirectly in the façade, and that its unbroken ceiling permitted a floor to be constructed above it. *Cf.* the *Casa dei Cervi* at Herculaneum.

type, at least, could hardly have any direct connection with the *caua aedium testudinata*, for it is not located where we should expect a room evolved from the atrium. High rooms are so common in Roman houses that no theory of foreign influence is needed to explain their presence at Ostia, but since the high room there is found in combination with the cortile and surrounding corridors, it appears to be a development of the main room of the Greek house with cortile and porticoes.

Archaeological evidence for the height of the chief room of the Greek house with small peristyle will be presented later. We may note here that Xenophon (*Mem.*, iii, 8, 9) says that in houses facing S., the winter sun shines into the παστάδες (that is, I take it, the rooms or porches before the large oeci), but that the summer sun passes over-head and casts a shadow. Accordingly, he continues, the rooms facing the S. should be comparatively high and those facing the N. low. A Rhodian peristyle, of course, would fulfill these conditions, but we know from Priene XXXIII that such a disposition could exist without a peristyle. This particular house was later remodelled and fitted with a Rhodian peristyle.[1] The well-known passage in Lysias may imply that every room on the ground floor of the house of Eratosthenes had a corresponding room on the first floor (*de Caede Eratos.*, I, 9):[2]

... οἰκίδιον ἔστι μοι διπλοῦν, ἔσα ἔχον τὰ ἄνω τοῖς κάτω...

A famous description of country houses near Pergamum during the second century A.D. occurs in Galen. The reconstruction of this house according to Rider,[3] however, is not satisfactory, in my opinion, since it omits the great room (ὁ μέγας οἶκος), clearly the room containing the hearth and probably the most important room of the house. From the following description of Galen it is also clear that this room was bordered on one or more sides by rooms with upper floors, and that this room itself had no upper floor, but extended the height of two stories: a wall of the room over the *exedra* needs only to be pierced to let in the heat from the great room (ὁ μέγας οἶκος). But no mention is made of a cortile. Accordingly we are not justified in assuming that this house belonged to the Greek type now under consideration.[4] Galen is describing the proper arrangments for aging wine, telling how his father did this:[5]

ὅπως δ' ἄν τις οἴκημα παρασκευάσειε θερμόν, ὡς ἐκεῖνος παρεσκεύασεν, καὶ δὴ φράσω. κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς ἅπαντας παρ' ἡμῖν οἶκοι γίνονται μεγάλοι, τὴν μὲν ἑστίαν, ἐφ' ἧς καίουσι τὸ πῦρ, ἐν μέσοις ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντες, οὐ πολὺ δὲ αὐτῆς ἀπέχουσιν αἱ τῶν ὑποζυγίων στάσεις.... τοιοῦτοι μὲν οὖν

[1] See below, section II, A, iv.

[2] We are not, I think, justified in assuming that this house of Eratosthenes was unusually modest, since this speech, though apparently simple and straight-forward, is very artfully written, and every word is designed to appeal to the sympathy of the judges.

[3] B. C. Rider, *The Greek House*, Cambridge, 1916, 68-69. *Cf.* Ernest Gardner, "The Greek House," *J. H. S.*, xxi, 1901, 293-305.

[4] In Daremberg and Saglio (II, i, 337-338, *s. v.*, *domus*) these houses of Galen are interpreted as being units built about a central room. This appears to be correct.

[5] *De Antidot.*, I, 3.

ἅπαντες οἱ κατὰ τοὺς ἀγροὺς οἶκοι κατασκευάζονται, κἂν εὐτελεῖς ὦσιν. οἱ δ' ἐπιμελέστερον αὐτῶν κατασκευαζόμενοι κατὰ τὸν ἔνδον τοῖχον ἔχουσι τὴν καταντικρὺ τῇ θύρᾳ τεταγμένην ἐξέδραν. ἑκατέρωθεν δ' αὐτῆς κοιτῶνα, καθ' ὃν ἄνωθέν ἐστιν ὑπερῶα οἰκήματα, καθάπερ καὶ κατὰ πολλὰ τῶν πανδοχείων ἐν κύκλῳ κατὰ τρεῖς τοίχους τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ μεγάλου, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ κατὰ τέτταρας. ἐκ τούτων οὖν τῶν οἰκημάτων τὸ μάλιστα σκεπτόμενον ἑκατέρωθέν ἐστι τὸ κατὰ τῆς ἐξέδρας ἐπικείμενον, ἐν ᾧ τὸν οἶνον ὁ πατήρ μου κατετίθετο.... ἀμείνων δὲ τῶν οἴκων ὁ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν μὲν ἐστραμμένος, ἀπεστραμμένος δὲ τὰς ἄρκτους...

...καὶ τῶν οἴκων τῶν ὑπερώων τοῦ μέρους τὸν ἕνα τοῖχον διετίτρα τρήμασιν ἀξιολόγοις, ἐστραμμένοις εἰς τὸν μέγαν οἶκον, ἐν ᾧ τόν τε κρίβανον ἔφην εἶναι καὶ τὴν ἑστίαν, προμηθούμενος διὰ τῶν τρημάτων εἰσιέναι θερμασίαν εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐν ᾧ τὰ κεράμια κατετίθετο. ἔκ τε οὖν τῆς κατὰ τὸν μέγαν οἶκον θερμασίας ἡ ἀποθήκη θερμαινομένη.... παραπλήσιον δ' οἷς εἴρηκα καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν εἶδον ἐν τοῖς περὶ Νεάπολιν, καὶ τὸν γειτνιῶντα λόφον αὐτῇ τῇ χώρᾳ γενόμενον, ὃν ὀνομάζουσι Τριφύλλινον. ἐπυθόμην δὲ καὶ κατ' ἄλλα πολλὰ χωρία τῆς Ἰταλίας οὕτω θερμαίνεσθαι τὸν οἶνον....

It is clear from the description by Vitruvius that Egyptian *oeci* regularly extended two floors in height: [1]

> *In Aegyptiis autem supra columnas epistylia et ab epistyliis ad parietes, qui sunt circa, inponenda est contignatio, supra coaxationem pauimentum, subdiu ut sit circumitus. deinde supra epistylium ad perpendiculum inferiorum columnarum inponendae sunt minores quarta parte columnae. supra earum epistylia et ornamenta lacunariis ornantur, et inter columnas superiores fenestrae conlocantur; ita basilicarum ea similitudo, non corinthiorum tricliniorum uidetur esse.*

It is obvious that such rooms must have been high, since they are lighted by a clerestory. [2] In some Greek houses, of course, as occasionally at Pompeii, the first floor rooms might have been on various levels and have had roofs at various heights. [3] But in these houses at Ostia, it was obviously impossible to vary levels in such a fashion, although, as pointed out above, the rooms on the S. façade of the *Casa dei Triclini* appear to have been on a level different from that of the rooms opening onto the inner court. It was also inadvisable to make a compromise by having a ceiling higher in the small rooms and lower

[1] VI, iii, 9. *Cf.* the *Casa dell'Atrio a Mosaico* at Herculaneum.

[2] These Egyptian *oeci* bear a close resemblance to the main halls of the Egyptian houses unearthed at the City of Akhenaten, which were lit by clerestories, as the stone grills found prove. See T. E. PEET and C. L. WOOLLEY, *The City of Akhenaten*, i, Egypt Exploration Society, 1923, 40-1. Compare the fayence tablets found in Crete (EVANS, *The Palace of Minos*, London, 1921-, i, 301-314), and the megaron with lantern at Palaikastro (RIDER, *op. cit.*, 144; *cf. B.S.A.*, ix, 1902-1903, 293). *Cf.* K. LANGE, *Haus und Halle*, Leipzig, 1885, 140-147.

[3] See MÜFID, *Stockwerkbau der Griechen und Römer*, 36, and Pompeii I, vii, 2-3 (*Casa di M. Fabio Amandio*), described above. Vitruvius (VI, iii, 8) says that Corinthian, tetrastyle, and Egyptian *oeci* should be twice as long as wide and of generous dimensions. Their height should be half the length plus width.

in the large rooms than that which the canon specified, since the height demanded by the large room, even if the canonical height were reduced as much as possible, would have entailed an uneconomic waste over the rest of the house. The only course left, therefore, was to extend the ceiling of the main room over the height of two complete floors. The room was then designed so that the height would not be far out of proportion to the size. For instance, the high room of the *Casa di Diana* was *ca.* 8.35 N. S. × 5.50 E. W. × ?? 7.00-7.50 m. high. One will note that the windows on the upper level in these main rooms have no parallel in the structure of the Roman tablinum, but do bear some slight resemblance to the Egyptian *oecus*. Still the resemblance is not close. But they are strikingly similar to the *oecus* of the *Maison du Trident* at Delos (II, A; see below), which had a window of three bays above the door, itself flanked by two windows. The ceiling of this room probably was on a level with the ceiling of the rooms on the first floor. We may note, however, that the *oecus* of the *Maison du Trident* has its main entrance on a side, not an end.[1] In the *Casa del Tempio Rotondo*, the chief room bears a close resemblance to the ordinary Greek *oecus*. First of all and most noticeable are the two columns, then the fact that it is square and opens directly upon the cortile, but is raised two steps above it. The two columns are also found in the *Casa dei Triclini* (where there are columns at the front end of the cortile as well). The room in the former is practically the same size as the cortile. The lintel appears to have been very low, however, since the stone columns are only 2.58 m. including capitals. On the other hand, in the *Casa di Diana* and the *Casa dei Triclini* and the *Casa dei Dipinti I*, the chief rooms are neither square nor twice as long as they are wide.[2] The chief rooms of Greek houses, however, are frequently neither square nor twice as long as they are wide. The fact that sometimes this main room at Ostia opens directly onto the cortile, and that sometimes it opens onto the corridor about the cortile (*Casa di Diana*) is noteworthy. Such variation may not be as unimportant as at first it might seem. Both arrangements are found in Greek houses, and they may have different ultimate origins. In all of these houses at Ostia (except the *Casa dei Dipinti I*, where one wall of the main room is an outside wall), there are doorways on each side at the front of the main room, and sometimes one or two doors at the back.

We find several distinctive features, therefore, in the plans of these houses at Ostia: (1) a small open area forming the central part of the house, (2) comparatively shallow corridors about this open area, (3) a large room with high ceiling located opposite the main entrance

[1] Müfid (*op. cit.*, 111; *cf.* 48, note 6) thinks that the passion for high rooms in monumental buildings, having vaulted ceilings and lighted by more than one level of windows — a passion prevalent since Neronian and Flavian times — must have led to high rooms such as these at Ostia.

[2] Since the main room at Ostia is usually on line with the cortile, and since the height of its ceiling could not be adjusted, it was difficult to determine the precise shape of the room unless the whole house was designed to fit the requirements of this one room. The plot of ground available and other considerations also had to be taken into account.

of the house, opening onto the corridor about the open area or (4) opening directly onto the open area itself, (5) sometimes with two columns supporting the lintel. These features do not occur in combination, and, as already pointed out, several of them do not occur even singly, in any type of atrium. It is only in Greek houses that these features are found in combination at a date earlier than the houses at Ostia. Accordingly, let us now examine those Greek houses which appear closest to the type of *insula* at Ostia now under consideration. One should remember, however, that there is endless variation in the plans of Greek houses, just as there is in those of the houses at Pompeii and even at Ostia (perhaps to a less extent than in Greece). The types, perhaps, are few: the minor adaptations are innumerable.

Part of the literary evidence on Greek houses has been presented above. But the most important literary evidence for the Greek house of the Roman period is, of course, the description of Vitruvius (VI, vii, 1-5): The Greeks, he says, do not have atria. The entrance corridor of the Greek house has inner and outer doors, between which are located the stable and the porter's room. The second door leads into the peristyle, which has colonnades on three sides while on the side facing S., it has two *antae* behind which is the *prostas* or *pastas* (in depth one-third less than the space between the *antae*). Within is the *oecus magnus*. Right and left of the *prostas* are two cubicula (*thalamos* and *amphithalamos*). About the porticoes are the ordinary dining rooms, bedrooms, and rooms for slaves. This is the *gynaeconitis* (? in houses having two peristyles).[1]

After having given this description, Vitruvius proceeds to describe luxurious additions: peristyles of four sides, *oeci quadrati*, *triclinia Cyzicena*, *pinacothecae*, *bibliothecae*, *etc.*, constituting the *andronitis*. Vitruvius also mentions apartments for guests (*domunculae*, *hospitalia*) with their own private entrances. But it is evident that many of these luxuries could have been afforded only by the very wealthy, although it is possible that houses may often have had two peristyles, and it is rash indeed to cast any doubt upon the existence of houses with the luxuries which Vitruvius describes, although there may well be differences of opinion as to the period when such houses first appeared.[2] Except in three provincial towns, Delos, Priene, and Olynthus, very few houses have been found in Greece, and if none of these possesses such an *andronitis*, there are still no grounds for doubting that such luxurious apartments actually existed, at least in the time of Vitruvius.

[1] The description is given partly in a generalizing plural, which is usually changed to the singular in my paraphrase.

It is on the basis of the houses discussed below (especially those at Olynthus, Delos, and Priene) and of the description of Vitruvius that I have termed certain houses at Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Rome and in North Africa Greek houses. A house built about a small peristyle and having no atrium, in my opinion, is a Greek house. It may, but does not necessarily, have two peristyles. Of course there were other types of Greek houses. The houses of North Africa and various other houses considered below are contemporary with or later than the earliest of the *insulae* with cortili and corridors at Ostia, and are considered merely to show the popularity of this Greek type in the Roman world under the Empire.

[2] *Cf.* E. GARDNER, "The Greek House", *J.H.S.*, xxi, 1901, 302-305.

We have a large number of examples which correspond in general to the first complex described.

The existence of apartments for guests, separated from the rest of the house and having their own entrances, may have been influential in the development of a house better adapted to metropolitan needs than was the old Roman house with atrium and peristyle.[1] Euripides offers excellent testimony for the early existence of such apartments (*Alc.* 543, 546-549):[2]

> χωρὶς ξενῶνές εἰσιν οἵ σ' ἐσάξομεν.
> .....
> ἡγοῦ σὺ τῷδε δωμάτων ἐξωπίους
> ξενῶνας οἴξας, τοῖς τ' ἐφεστῶσιν φράσον
> σίτων παρεῖναι πλῆθος. εὖ δὲ κλήσατε
> θύρας μεσαύλους...
> (546: τῶνδε *VPL.* 548: εὖ *England*: ἐν *Codd.*).

ii. VOUNI (VI.-IV. CENTURIES B. C.)

The palace at Vouni, recently excavated by the Swedish expedition to Cyprus, bears a striking resemblance to the houses with cortili and corridors at Ostia, although this resemblance may be superficial in part.[3] An oblong cortile is bordered by a peristyle on three sides. On the fourth side beyond several steps, which are necessitated by the fact that the peristyle is built on lower ground, there is located a complex, three rooms wide and three rooms deep. The first shallow room in the middle had its lintel supported by one column.[4] The four columns at the corners of the peristyle were of elliptical section.[5]

[1] Such apartments may have originally been introduced into private houses from tenement houses, but this is immaterial to the present consideration. The important fact is that such separate apartments were well known in Greek houses before the development of metropolitan architecture (at least to any great extent) at Rome. But *cf.* DIONYSIUS, x, 32 (? trustworthy).

[2] But see the remarks of E. Gardner on the stage action at this point (*J. H. S.*, xxi, 1901, 301). *Cf.* AESCHYLUS, *Choeph.*, 712; ARISTOTLE, *Oec.*, i, 6, 7 (1345 A). *Cf.* WALTER MILLER, *Daedalus and Thespis*, i, New York, 1929, 219.

[3] Fig. 11.

If there is any significant similarity between the two types, it is found only in the second palace (third and fourth building periods), in which the entrance was opposite the prostas (??) and megaron (??). See E. GJERSTAD, "The Palace at Vouni: A Study in Architectural History", *Corolla Archaeologica* (= *Skrifter*, ii, 1932), 145-171; *A.J.A.*, xxxvii, 1933, 589-598, 608-609. *Cf.* VALENTIN MÜLLER, *A.J.A.*, xxxvi, 1932, 408-417; xxxvii, 1933, 599-601.

Gjerstad (*Corolla Arch.*, 171) thinks that the first palace is purely Cypriote in style and that the second is a combination of Cypriote and Greek elements. There was very little difference in the main complex (peristyle and surrounding rooms), however, between these two periods. The palace was erected about 500 B. C., and destroyed at the beginning of the IV. century B. C.

It is difficult to believe that the peristyle of this palace and the ordinary Greek peristyle are not in the same tradition. Gjerstad (*A.J.A.*, xxxvii, 1933, 597-598) considers the peristyle not an architectural element which in itself may be used as a criterion of architectural influence or affinity, and thinks that it may appear independently in different countries. But he does not hesitate to follow the "liwan" room over vast stretches of time and space, and he does not offer any example (except this one) of a small peristyle with surrounding rooms which has sprung up independently.

[4] *Cf.* Delos II E and the house E. of the forum at Timgad. (Both considered below). *Cf.* OLYNTHUS, A, v, 4 (unpublished).

[5] *Cf.* Delos III N (CHAMONARD, *Délos*, viii, Paris, 1922-1924, 43-5, original disposition uncertain).

Fig. 11. The central portion of the palace at Vouni.
From *Corolla Arch.*, plate III after p. 108. With kind permission of the Swedish Archaeological Institute in Rome.

iii. OLYNTHUS (V.-IV. CENTURIES B. C.)

The houses at Olynthus are of great importance because they belong to the Classical Age.[1] Usually, these houses consisted of six or more rooms on the ground floor, grouped about a cortile, and a certain number of rooms on the first floor. The cortile had porticoes on one or more sides supported usually by pilasters of wood. The open area is often

[1] See DAVID M. ROBINSON, *The Excavations at Olynthus*, Baltimore, ii, 1930, 35-98; *A.J.A.*, xxxvi, 1932, 16-17, 118-124. Since the appearance of these publications, a large number of other houses have been excavated, which I have been permitted to examine through the kindness of Professor Robinson, who not only invited me to Olynthus, but also made me a member of his staff for a part of the season of 1934. The present account is published with his permission, and owes much to his suggestions and criticism, and also to those of Dr. J. Walter Graham. This account, however, is necessarily very summary; and only the full official publication, which I have been permitted to read in manuscript, can do justice to these extremely interesting houses.

paved with cobble stones. The characteristic room of these houses (called the " andron " by the excavators) is usually a large, square (or almost square) room, opening onto a portico or onto an anteroom. It is not necessarily the largest room of the house, and it is never on axis with the entrance of the house. Frequently it has a cement floor with a large central rectangular depression paved with a pebble mosaic and a " tongue " leading to the entrance. About the sides of the room, there is a raised border, and there is usually a small basin near the entrance or other means provided for draining the depressed portion, but one should not infer from this that part of the room was open to the sky.[1] The first floor was evidently very similar in plan to the ground floor. Balconies, usually reached by a staircase from a portico, corresponded to the porticoes on the ground floor.[2] Often there is a bath room with plaster walls, a cement floor, and a terra-cotta " hip bath " in place.[3] Similar "hip baths" have been found in Sicily and elsewhere.

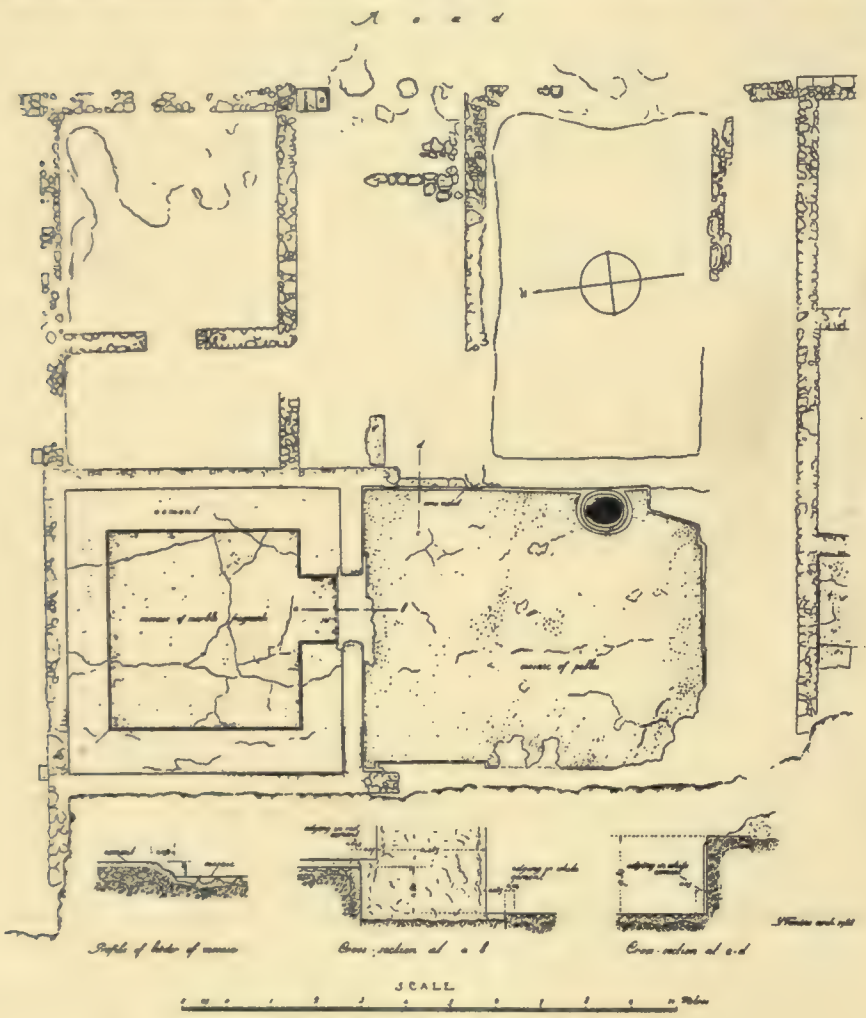

Fig. 12. House 5 at Olynthus.
From D. M. Robinson, *Excavations*, ii, fig. 153.
By kind permission of Professor Robinson.

House 5 at Olynthus shows some similarity to the *insulae* with cortili and corridors at Ostia.[4] Here the cortile (*ca.* 6.00 × 7.50 m.) is somewhat lower than most of the rooms of the house. It is paved with a pebble mosaic and plastering is preserved on the N. and E. walls. At one side there is a cistern shaped like a *pithos*. The E. side of this cortile is taken up for the most part by a large room, which was apparently not entered, however, from the cortile. On the S., there was a corridor. The disposition on the W. is uncertain. On the N., one stepped up through

[1] These drains were designed merely to take off the water used in washing the pavement. *Cf.* the *Maison des Masques*, at Delos (Chamonard, *B.C.H.*, lvii, 1933, 121, 149, pl. i).

[2] Robinson, *A.J.A.*, xxxvi, 1932, 121.

[3] Robinson, *Excavations*, ii, 46-50.

[4] Fig. 12.
Cf. Robinson, *Excavations*, ii, 55-59; *cf.* frontispiece. The plan of this house is, to date, unique at Olynthus, where the houses are built on a fairly regular plan, which differs somewhat both from the typical house at Priene and from that at Delos. House 5 is very different from the typical house at Olynthus (*e.g.*, A, vii, 4, unpublished), but is the only house that shows any remarkable similarity to the *insulae* now under consideration.

a doorway into the main room of the house, built on line with the cortile. This room (*ca.* 6.00 × 6.20 m.) has a beautiful pavement in the center, and the usual raised border about the sides.[1] The walls of the room, when first excavated, were still standing to a height of 0.70 m., and were 0.45-0.50 m. thick. They were covered with smooth white stucco to a height of 0.50 m., above which the stucco was red. Horizontal and vertical lines divided the stucco into panels of different sizes and lengths. This house had an upper story, as is indicated by the stone base of a staircase, found in the entrance corridor and indicated on the plan. In the cortile, five bases probably designed to support basins were found (four in marble), "such as are known from South Italy".[2]

iv. PRIENE (IV.-III. CENTURIES B. C.)

The typical house at Priene has been considered to be quite different in origin from the typical Greek house with peristyle. In fact, before the excavations at Olynthus, there were no actual remains of houses with peristyles of the fifth century in Greece, and the fact that at Priene, House XXXIII was remodelled into a peristyle house seemed to indicate that the peristyle was an innovation.[3] But interrupted porticoes somewhat similar to a peristyle occur in the palace at Tiryns (together with the megaron and prostas), and very recently a peristyle of three sides has been found at Vouni (about 500 B. C.), and peristyles of four sides have been found at Olynthus (V.-IV. centuries B. C.). As further proof of a difference in type, Leroux pointed to the flat roofs and to the "wide" or at least square rooms at Delos in contrast to those at Priene, and claimed that these characteristics were "oriental". "Wide" and square rooms, however, have now been found at Olynthus,[4] and sloping roofs were not unknown at Delos. Nevertheless, the houses at Priene

[1] Compare the famous mosaic, in the Lateran Museum at Rome, of the floor of a dining room strewn with leavings of the banquet. The whole is roughly square, and the fact that the border is the only part represented as strewn with leavings shows, of course, that it was on this border that the diners sat, although here the border is not raised. Nogara (*I Mosaici Antichi... del Vaticano e del Laterano*, Milan, 1910, pp. 3-5, pls. 5-7) does not seem justified, therefore, in assuming that the design of Sosus has been modified because part of the fourth side of the border of this mosaic (the entrance, in my opinion) is taken up by masks: the diners sat only on three sides, and the "*asarotos*" motive was appropriate only where they sat. This particular example of the *oecus asarotos* (for a fragment of another, see O. Fasiolo, *I Mosaici di Aquileia*, Rome, 1915, pp. 49-50, pl. v), however, was found in the middle of a very large room. But the fact that it was here surrounded by a raised border probably shows that it was not designed for such a room. With reference to the *asarotos* motive, *cf.* Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxvi, 184; Statius, *Silvae*, i, 3, 55-56; Sidonius Apollinaris, *Carm.*, 23, 57-58. With regard to the border on three sides only, compare the *oecus* of the elegant *Maison des Muses* at Althiburos (see below, section II, A, vii).

Somewhat similar rooms with raised borders are occasionally found elsewhere. In my opinion, Delos VI, M, d may be an example of such a room, although Chamonard thought that two distinct periods were represented here (*Délos*, viii, 62, 395). It is possible that Delos IV, B, i is another example, although the remains here are very slight indeed.

Cf. also F. Stählin, E. Meyer, and A. Heidner, *Pagasai und Demetrias*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1934, 125-132, esp. 129.

[2] Robinson, *Excavations*, ii, p. 64, fig. 175. For this class of object, see F. Winter and E. Pernice, *Hellenistische Kunst in Pompeji*, v, Berlin and Leipzig, 1932, pp. 38-54, 95, pls. 24-35.

[3] *Cf.* Gabriel Leroux, *Les Origines de l'Édifice Hypostyle, Bibl. des Écoles Fr. d'Athènes et de Rome*, fasc. 108, Paris, 1913, 237-242. For some literary evidence on the early existence of the hypostyle hall, *cf.* Miller, *Daedalus and Thespis*, i, 218; of the peristyle, *cf. op. cit.*, 232; *cf.* Plato, *Protag.*, 314 E-315.

[4] Sometimes rooms, usually of minor importance, open on an end at Olynthus (*i. e.*, they are "long" rooms). See above. It may also be noted that square rooms are common at Priene. For some literary evidence on flat roofs, compare Miller, *op. cit.*, i, 227-228.

exhibit many distinctive features, and no attempt will here be made to determine the basic unity or duality of types. It may not be out of place, however, to point out again that variations are found within individual sites wherever a large number of houses have been discovered. This applies even to adjoining houses with common walls and evidently built at about the same time (*e. g.* at Olynthus).

At Priene the typical house has a small inner cortile upon one or more sides of which open various rooms, especially the *prostas* and *oecus*, which face south, regardless of the location of the house in relation to the street.[1] With few exceptions (? late), there is no peristyle. The *prostas* often has about one-third less depth than width, as Vitruvius (VI, vii, 1) prescribes, and sometimes has two columns supporting the lintel. The *oecus* is usually square. Frequently there is a room at the side of the *prostas*, in all probability used as a dining room, according to the excavators, usually with space only for three couches. But the feet of couches were found in the *oeci* of several houses, as were also handmills (frequent). In these dining rooms, the walls were most carefully decorated (in the first Pompeian style),[2] and mosaic floors, rare elsewhere, are here rather frequent. Roofing tiles of regular forms were found in abundance, some with round holes.[3] Occasionally there are two *oeci*. Some houses have shops along the street, but these shops open not on their whole front as at Pompeii, but merely by a door. They have no connection with the houses to which they belong.

The most interesting house at Priene is House XXXIII.[4] In the original construction, the door of this house was set more than two meters back from the street (note the *πρόθυρον*, equivalent to the *vestibulum*),[5] and led into a corridor down the E. side of the house (a portico). The open cortile (9.30 (9.55) m. E. W. × 10.35 m. N. S.) had rooms on three sides, and the corridor (portico) on the fourth. There was a small space for the staircase on the W. Opposite the *prostas* (7.00 × 5.30 m.) and *oecus* (7.00 × 7.10 m.) was an *exedra*. The ceiling of the *prostas* and *oecus* was probably 5.50-6.00 m. high,[6] evidently much higher than the ceiling of the rooms W. of the cortile and the ceiling of the corridor.[7] This house was later remodelled, but neither in its original nor in its remodelled form were the *oecus* and *prostas* on line with the cortile except along the E. side. In the original form the *prostas* opened onto the cortile with two columns *in antis*, and there was a portico on the E. side of the cortile. In the rebuilding, the *prostas* was eliminated, but the ceiling evidently was left at the same height, this resulting in a Rhodian

[1] T. WIEGAND, H. SCHRADER, *Priene*, Berlin, 1904, 285-328.

[2] *Ibid.*, 308-319, fig. 333. The borders of the mosaic floors are sometimes slightly raised.

[3] *Ibid.*, fig. 330 (hole 0.26 m. in diameter). Such tiles were apparently used as chimneys. *Cf.* DIPHILUS, *Chrys.* (Frag. 84 K; *cf.* MILLER, *op. cit.*, i, 222-223):

διακύψας ὁρῶ
διὰ τῆς ὀπαίας κεραμίδος καλὴν σφόδρα.

PHOTIUS: *ὀπαία κεραμίς· ἡ τὴν κάπνην ἔχουσα.* *Cf.* the tiles (holes 0.16-0.24 m. in diameter) found at Caulonia, *Mon. Ant.*, xxiii, 1916, 764; 767, fig. 43; 809-810, fig. 69. Such tiles have been found also at other sites, *e.g.* Ostia (holes *ca.* 0.20 m. in diameter, with a raised border); *cf.* CALZA, "*Le Origini Latine dell'Abitazione Moderna*", *Architettura e Arti Decorative*, iii, 1923, (7-8).

[4] Figs. 13, 14. *Cf.* WIEGAND and SCHRADER, *op. cit.*, 285-303; 326-327.

[5] But see above.

[6] WIEGAND and SCHRADER, *op. cit.*, 303.

[7] See the reconstruction of Wiegand and Schrader (*op. cit.*, *Abb.* 299). Fiechter (in PAULY-WISSOWA, vii, *s. v. Haus*, 2543), with regard to the roof, prefers the reconstruction of Durm (*Baukunst der Griechen*, 3d. ed., Leipzig, 1910, pp. 523-524, *Abb.* 470). Without attempting to examine the question, we may at least note that some houses certainly did have triglyphs. *Cf.* MILLER, *op. cit.*, i, 203-207. At Delos, triglyphs sometimes formed part of the wall decoration. *Cf.* CHAMONARD, *Délos*, viii, 386; *B. C. H.*, lvii, 1933, 142.

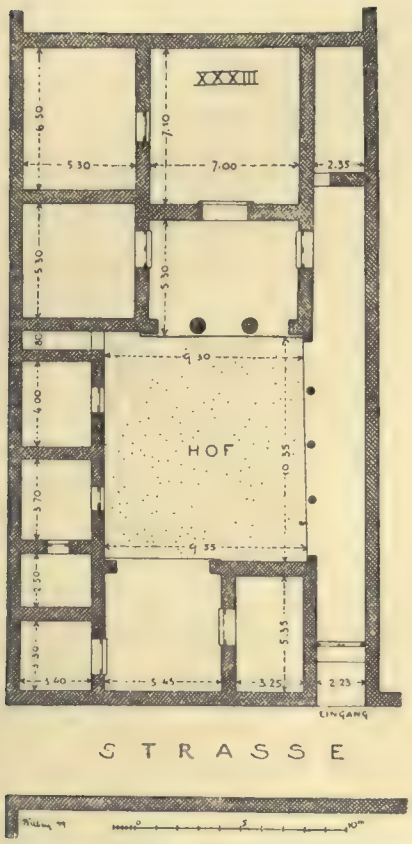

Fig. 13. House XXXIII at Priene (original plan). This house faces south. From WIEGAND and SCHRADER, *Priene*, fig. 298.

peristyle of slightly irregular shape. The house on the E. was joined to this house, making an establishment with two courts, but not with two peristyles. An inner door was added leading to the peristyle, and there was a porter's nook between the two doorways.

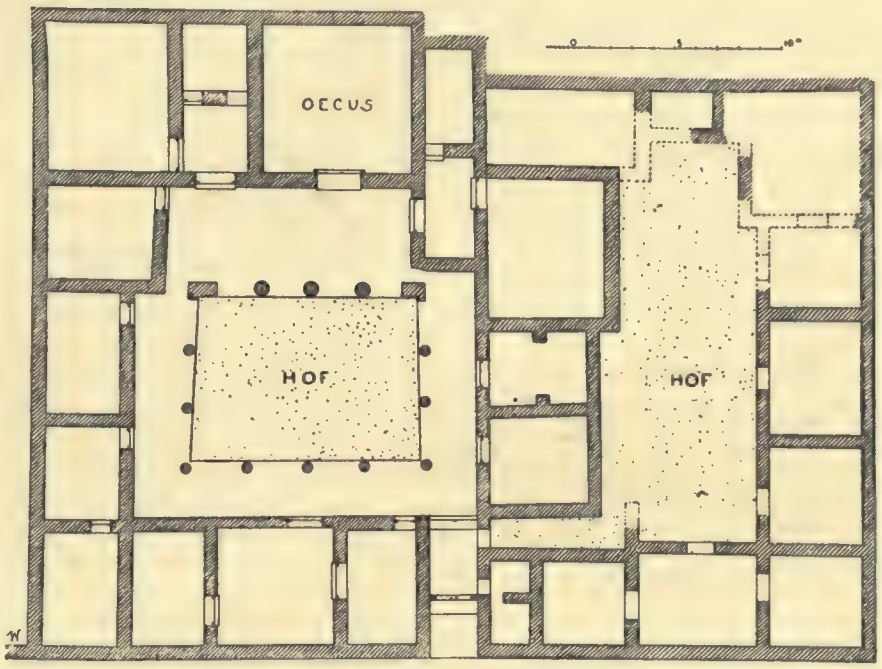

Fig. 14. House XXXIII and adjoining house at Priene (remodelled plan). *Ibid.*, fig. 316.

By kind permission of Staatsrat Theodor Wiegand.

V. DELOS (III.-I. CENTURIES B. C.)

The houses at Delos are usually very irregular in plan, owing somewhat, no doubt, to the irregular terrain and to the very rocky soil upon which they are built. The entrance is ordinarily through a corridor (two doorways are occasionally found in luxurious houses),[1] which leads into an inner cortile bordered on one or more sides by rooms. The majority of the houses do not have a peristyle, but many do, especially the more luxurious.[2] Usually the peristyle has columns on all four sides, but there occur instances of peristyles of one, two, and three sides. Often the first floor is served by a gallery around the cortile

[1] JOSEPH CHAMONARD, *Exploration archéologique de Délos*, viii, *Le Quartier du Théatre*, Paris, 1922, 1924, 109.

[2] *Ibid.*, 113-114. Chamonard points out that the presence or absence of a peristyle is not so much a matter of date as it is a matter of the importance of the house and the wealth of its owner. Some houses not having a peristyle, have "*abris couverts*" designed to serve the purpose of a portico.

The *Maison du Lac* has two cortili, but not two peristyles (CHAMONARD, *op. cit.*, 163). The smaller complex has its own entrance, well, cistern, perhaps latrine, but it was once connected with the peristyle by way of a corridor, and also with the *oecus* by a wide doorway. Chamonard seems to be correct in his contention that these two cortili do not constitute a *gynaeconitis* and an *andronitis*, according to the canon of Vitruvius. A few other houses at Delos have two cortili.

over the porticoes, with its roof supported by *parastades*. No certain example of columns belonging to such a gallery has been found.[1] There is usually a cistern under the cortile, fed by water from the roof, not the water collected in the cortile, which was discharged into the sewer, occasionally after traversing the latrine of the house.

Every house at Delos has one distinctive room, larger than the others and evidently the most important room of the house.[2] Chamonard calls these rooms *oeci maiores*,[3] and thinks that they served as reception rooms and, in general, dining and sitting (*salle commune de réunion*) rooms. Small rooms often open off these main rooms or other, less important rooms, sometimes with no independent lighting.[4] In houses with peristyles, these main rooms are located behind the largest portico of the peristyle and they regularly face W. or S. They normally have openings of three bays, sometimes a door and two windows, sometimes three doors. These rooms are usually oblong (but not twice as long as wide), and have the main entrance on a long side, not on an end like the main rooms at Ostia. Mosaic floors (at least in the center) are regular. Smaller elegant rooms (which Chamonard calls *oeci minores*), also, are found in luxurious houses.

Outer windows occur on the ground floor, but windows on the upper floor were more numerous, both large and small and sometimes with two or three bays. In general, the disposition of the first floor is the same as that of the ground floor, although Chamonard makes the unlikely assumption that over large *oeci* there were two or three rooms.[5] The wall decoration is sometimes excellent, even surpassing that of the ground floor, and

[1] CHAMONARD, *op. cit.*, 194; *cf.* fig. 83, and pl. xviii. *Cf.* MÜFID, *Stockwerkbau...*, 81-84. But columns of marble were found belonging to the gallery of the *Magasin des Colonnes*. *Cf.* A. JARDÉ, *B. C. H.*, xxix, 1905, 25-28.

It is to be noted that such galleries, if extended around the four sides of a small peristyle, bear a resemblance to the houses with tetrastyle atria and surrounding galleries at Pompeii, although these Greek houses invariably have a larger, usually very much larger, open area, and their surrounding porticoes are usually shallow. The long "*promenade*" (portico), frequently found in front of the main room, also recalls the alae of the Roman house. It is possible, as already pointed out, that the tetrastyle atria with surrounding galleries are modelled after such houses as these. If the open area in these Pompeian houses with tetrastyle atria had been properly increased, and the width of the surrounding corridors decreased, they would have practically become houses of this Greek type, especially if the tablinum had been fitted with two columns, or made to open directly onto the open area. But, as we have seen, such houses at Pompeii did not show any tendency to develop properly. The size of these peristyles at Delos is very important in this connection. The height of the columns (including capitals) varies from 3.41, 3.32 m. (IV, B) to 5.60 m. (VI, I: *Maison du Dionysus*). See CHAMONARD, pl. XXVII. In the *Maison de Kerdon* (*ibid.*, 126-127), the open cortile measures *ca.* 5.18 × 3.41 m., the porticoes roughly 2.00 m., the columns *ca.* 3.60 m. (estimated from the diameter, 0.48). In the *Maison du Dionysus* (CHAMONARD, *op. cit.*, 127-134), the open space is 8.53 × 5.62 (5.33) m.; the porticoes vary, but are roughly about 1.50 m. on three sides, and about 2.70 m. on the fourth. Chamonard thinks the columns disproportionately high, and assigns the construction to a late date. Vitruvius (VI, iii, 7) says the columns of peristyles should be as high as the colonnades are wide, but this is in his description of the Roman house, and doubtless refers to large peristyles, such as those at Pompeii. With the cortile of the *Maison du Dionysus*, compare (in point of size) that of the *Casa di Diana* at Ostia.

[2] CHAMONARD *op. cit.*, 169-170.

[3] *Cf.* VITRUVIUS, VI, vii, 2 (*oeci magni*), and GALEN, *de Antidot.* I, 3 (ὁ μέγας οἶκος).

[4] CHAMONARD, *op. cit.*, 167. Compare the *Casa di Diana* at Ostia.

[5] *Ibid.*, 196. But in the *Maison des Masques*, he assumes that there was a large room over the *oecus* on the first floor. *Cf. B. C. H.*, lvii, 1933, 134.

mosaic pavements are also found here; so the first floor appears quite as important a part of the house as the floor below. This is in sharp contrast with the old Roman house. Sometimes the first floor at Delos was quite independent from the ground floor, having a staircase opening on the outside.[1] The roofs seem to have been flat as a rule, but sloping roofs certainly did occur, as roofing tiles have been found.[2]

Latrines must have occurred on the first floor, since sometimes none can be found on the ground floor, even in luxurious houses. Several of these houses have a recess in the wall, leading from the upper floor to a sewer below. Others, perhaps, had a mere conduit of lead or terra-cotta fastened against the wall.[3] Similar recesses in the walls are common at Ostia (and at Pompeii), as are pipes of terra-cotta, also. The latter are either built into the middle of the wall, or surrounded by masonry (? late) outside the wall. At Ostia, however, it is usually impossible to determine whether these recesses or pipes were intended to carry off rain water from the roofs or to drain latrines or sinks. Doubtless, they sometimes served both purposes.

Turning to individual houses, we may first notice II, E, which has a peristyle of three sides.[4] The *oecus* opens directly onto the fourth side of the cortile, and its wide lintel is supported by a single (?) column. Its walls are approximately in line with the peristyle. In the center of the cortile lies an oblong altar.

The *Maison du Trident* (II, A) is one of the most elegant of the houses at Delos.[5] It has two entrances on different streets, and the main entrance is approximately on line with the doorway of the *oecus*. The small cortile (*ca.* 5.60 × 6.00 m.) is surrounded by a peristyle, which was the only example of a Rhodian peristyle known at Delos before the recent discovery of the *Maison des Masques*.[6] In the *Maison du Trident*, however, the high portico lies not on the N., but on the E., facing W. Behind the high portico lies the large *oecus* (*ca.* 8.60 × 5.65 m.), which extended two floors in height according to the assumption of Chamonard,[7] who thinks that the roof or terrace had the same elevation on all four sides, but that there was no upper story over the E. side. The *oecus* opens onto the portico by a door flanked by two windows. But there are also the remains of a window of three bays, which was evidently located in the high part of the wall, below the roof of the portico.[8] This method of lighting by windows on two levels, of course, is one of the most striking features of the main rooms at Ostia.

The *Maison des Dauphins* is especially noteworthy because of the portico along the street in front of the house,

[1] Occasionally this was built up on masonry entirely on the outside, like many staircases to be seen in Italy and Greece today. *Cf.* CHAMONARD, *op. cit.*, pl. xlviii. *Cf.* Plate 2, A below (F. U. R. 109 b c).

W. A. Laidlaw (*A History of Delos*, Oxford, 1933, 243) points out the significant fact that these houses at Delos tended to expand vertically rather than laterally. There are no large gardens as at Pompeii. *Cf.* CHAMONARD, *op. cit.*, 102, 199, *cf.* 28.

[2] CHAMONARD, *op. cit.*, 319-321.

[3] *Op. cit.*, 188-189, pl. lxv.

[4] *Op. cit.*, 33-34. Chamonard thinks that the peristyle here should have had four sides. It is evident that this peristyle was never properly completed. There is a second column base set against the W. jamb of the doorway of the *oecus*.

The use of columns to support the lintel prevented the doorway's being fitted with doors. This fact may account for the rarity of such use at Delos, where the *oecus* (and often other rooms) was usually fitted with doors. At Ostia, individual rooms within an apartment do not appear to have had doors.

[5] Plate 1, A. *Cf.* CHAMONARD, *op. cit.*, 27-29; 111; 139-152; pls. ix-xiii. *Cf.* L. COUVE, *B. C. H.*, xix, 1895, 497-505.

[6] *Cf.* CHAMONARD, *Fouilles à Délos* (Juillet-Septembre 1930), *B. C. H.*, lvii, 1933, 99; 110-158. But the peristyle of *Quartier du Stade*, I, B probably should be considered another example. *Cf.* A. PLASSART, *B. C. H.*, xl, 1916, 168.

[7] CHAMONARD, *Délos*, viii, 150; *cf.* 171. The main room of the *Casa di Diana* is very nearly of the same size, but has its main entrance on an end.

[8] *Ibid.*, 171.

although it does not furnish the only example of such a portico at Delos.[1] The distinct tendency towards regularity in the planning of this house is also noteworthy. The *oecus* (h) is very large (*ca.* 10.20 × 6.75 m.) and possibly had inner columns.[2]

The *Maison du Dionysus* (VI, I) is exceptional because of its height. The porticoes were about 6 m. high; the first floor about 4 m. In all, the house must have extended over 11 m. in height.[3] There was a gallery on the first floor, of which the bays were twice the number of those on the ground floor.[4]

The plan of Delos II, F[5] is somewhat similar to that of Pompeii VII, vi, 38, discussed above, although the different orientation of the houses should be taken into consideration. This house at Delos, however, was in course of reconstruction.

vi. THERA

At Thera a small house has been discovered with a very small peristyle of three sides.[6] On the fourth side of the open area lies the chief room of the house, which faces S. The house has two doors, as Vitruvius (VI, vii, 1) prescribes for the Greek house.

vii. NORTH AFRICA

The houses of North Africa in the period of the Roman Empire, while sometimes showing possible similarities to Roman houses, are more noteworthy for their close Greek affinities, and are frequently typically Greek houses.[7]

In Timgad, the house E. of the forum on the *Decumanus Maximus* appears to be a Greek house, possibly with slight modifications.[8] Along the street front runs a portico, similar to that of the *Maison des Dauphins* at Delos.[9] Opposite the complicated entrance (but not in line with it) and beyond the small corridor surrounding the peristyle lies the *oecus* (6 × 5 m.)[10] with two columns supporting the lintel. On each side of the *oecus* is a large room, approached by a narrow corridor and having a single column supporting the lintel.[11] The cortile is

[1] Plate 1, B. *Cf.* CHAMONARD, *op. cit.*, 104; pl. xxiii-xxiv. *Cf.* P. PARIS, *B. C. H.*, viii, 1884, 473-496.

With regard to the restored plans, Chamonard (*op. cit.*, 403, note 1) remarks: *Le lecteur voudra bien faire abstraction, dans les plans restaurés, de toutes les indications hypothétiques relatives au pavement et au mobilier des salles, comme à la destination supposée de celles-ci. Les seules dont il faille tenir compte se trouvent sur les plans de l'état actuel.* The *Maison des Dauphins* is built upon level ground. It appears to be of the same date as the *Maison de la Colline*, another house remarkable for its regularity. *Cf.* CHAMONARD, *op. cit.*, 413.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 170.

[3] *Op. cit.*, 200. For a general description of this house, *cf.* CHAMONARD, *B. C. H.*, xxx, 1906, 486-562.

[4] *Op. cit.*, 131.

[5] *Op. cit.*, 34-36; pl. iii-iv.

[6] F. HILLER VON GAERTRINGEN, P. WILSKI, *Thera*, iii, Berlin, 1904, 138-139. *Cf. Thera*, i, Berlin, 1899, 252-254.

[7] For a general survey of recent (1915-1930) excavations in N. Africa, see R. LANTIER, *Arch. Anz.*, xlvi, 1931, 461-575.

[8] Fig. 15. *Cf.* E. BOESWILLWALD, R. CAGNAT, A. BALLU, *Timgad*, Paris, 1905, 89-92; fig. 40; pl. xii. ALBERT BALLU, *Les Ruines de Timgad*, i, Paris, 1897, 224-226.

[9] Swoboda (*Römische und Romanische Paläste*, Vienna, 1919, 252) says that this type of peristyle house with portico along the façade is not "*vereinzelt*" in Roman architecture, but that it appears at Caerwent, England (House III) and in military architecture. This house at Caerwent (see *Archaeologia*, lvii, 1900-1901, 301-310, pl. 40) shows little similarity in plan, and, of course, does not have the distinctive *oecus*. A good example of a peristyle house with portico along the façade has recently been discovered at Herculaneum. The portico here extends beyond this particular house (Insula V, no. 4, Cardo V).

[10] BOESWILLWALD, *op. cit.*, 92.

[11] Compare the *prostas* (?) of the palace at Vouni; ? Delos II, E; a house at Caulonia (ORSI, *Mon. Ant.*, xxiii, 1916, *Caulonia*, pl. viii, Ins. I, Room B; shops at Selinunte, E. GÀBRICI, *Mon. Ant.*, xxxiii, 1930, *Acropoli di Selinunte*, 68-70; pl. iv, E.

surrounded by ten columns and two rows of vertical stone slabs, those on the inside being curved. Between these slabs, flowers or shrubs were planted. Their continuity is broken only on the side facing the *oecus*, where there is a wide entrance into the open area, flanked by columns on line with the two columns of the *oecus*. The sides of the peristyle are not quite in line with the walls of the *oecus*. This peristyle with its surrounding porticoes is *ca.* 10 m. square; the porticoes themselves, *ca.* 2 m. deep.[1] In the middle of the cortile is a well which formerly had some sort of border. Both the floor of the portico around the peristyle and that of the *oecus* originally were paved with mosaics.

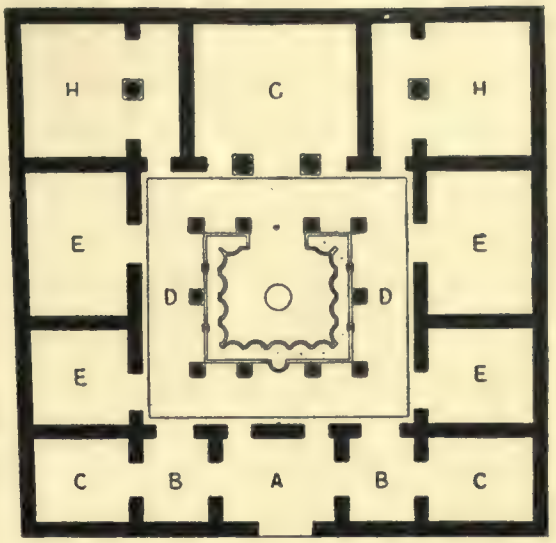

Fig. 15. House east of the forum at Timgad. This house faces approximately north.

From BOESWILLWALD, CAGNAT and BALLU, *Timgad*, fig. 40. By kind permission of Professor René Cagnat.

Other houses at Timgad are interesting in this connection. House 91 has a small square peristyle of eight columns and a well in the center.[2] On the W. side opens the *oecus* (three bays). This room is considerably larger than the peristyle. With regard to the large house of Sertius, we may remark that the "atrium" (?) has almost half its area (14 × 12 m.) taken up by the open area, and that the basin (1.65 × 8.70) of this area cannot be called an impluvium in the strict sense, since it does not correspond in size to the opening in the roof, and was evidently not designed to collect the rain water.[3] One large room opens directly onto the open area, and this room has been called the *tablinum*, but it is doubtful whether this whole complex has any historical connection with that of the Roman atrium. We have noted above that with this possible exception, the *tablinum* never opens directly onto the impluvium (here a cortile?). This is the only room of the complex which bears the slightest resemblance to any of the rooms about the normal Roman atrium. The second cortile of this house has an incomplete peristyle, on the W. of which lies an excellent example of a *prostas* with two columns *in antis* and with the *oecus* behind, both on line with the peristyle. It is evident that if this is a Greco-Roman house of the Pompeian tradition, the type has undergone radical changes under strong Greek influence. One may note also that this house has several entrances, always, apparently, having two doorways before reaching a cortile. The *Maison de l'Hermaphrodite*, also, fails to follow the usual Pompeian house in many particulars.[4]

At Althiburos, various Greek houses have been found, especially the elegant *Maison des Muses*.[5] This house is built mainly about a cortile (*ca.* 6.50 m. sq.) surrounded by a peristyle of twelve columns with porticoes 2.50 m. deep (2.90 m. on S. W.). Opposite one side, apparently that of the entrance, opens the *oecus* with two bays. This room is identical in size with the cortile. It is paved with a figured mosaic, which has a border running about most of the three inner sides, where the dining couches may have been placed.

[1] BOESWILLWALD, *etc.*, *op. cit.*, 90.

[2] BOESWILLWALD, *etc.*, *op. cit.*, 335, plan p. 337. Ballu (House 19), *op. cit.*, ii, Paris, 1903, 103. Both Ballu and Boeswillwald call the peristyle and its surrounding corridors the atrium, and this is the usual term used with reference to such constructions by these early investigators. The houses of Timgad underwent many modifications in the course of the centuries, and the original construction cannot always be determined. Their value as evidence, therefore, is not always beyond question.

[3] On the *Maison de Sertius*, see BOESWILLWALD, *etc.*, *op. cit.*, 326-333; BALLU, *op. cit.*, ii, 81-89, pl. xxi.

[4] On the *Maison de l'Hermaphrodite*, see BOESWILLWALD, *etc.*, *op. cit.*, 322-326; BALLU, *op. cit.*, ii, 90-94, pl. xxiii. These investigators thought that the peristyle was really a vast atrium. The basin in the middle of the cortile is late, according to Boeswillwald.

[5] ALFRED MERLIN, "*Forum et Maisons d'Althiburos*", *Notes et Documents*, vi, 1913, 39-45 (dated middle or end of II. Century A. D.).

A house at Thuburbo Maius is built about a peristyle which also has twelve columns.[1] Opposite the side of the entrance is the *oecus* with three bays opening onto the portico. The room is square, being 6 m. on each side. The rooms behind the *oecus* and to the S. E. are at a higher level, and at least some of them appear to have been rented separately (doubtless shops, etc.). Since these other rooms are at a higher level, possibly the height of the *oecus* was greater than the height of these rooms (if the same roof covered them all).[2]

viii. SICILY AND SOUTHERN ITALY[3]

a. *Actual Remains*

A house at Palermo (House B) is a Greek house in so far as it has survived.[4] It does not bear a close resemblance to the *insulae* at Ostia, but it is noteworthy for its Rhodian peristyle, behind the high N. portico of which are situated four rooms. One of these, evidently the *oecus* (triclinium), contained a magnificent mosaic in the center of its floor, which possessed a hint of realistic background and other features reminiscent of the great Alexander mosaic, to which Gàbrici compares it.

A few houses with peristyles of twelve, eight, and four columns have been found at Solunto.[5] The peristyle of twelve columns (the "gymnasium") had a balcony. Doric columns were employed on the ground level and Ionic columns on the first floor.

As further examples of Greek town houses in Sicily, we may cite a house at Selinunte (House N), dating from about 250 B. C. or later and not homogeneous in construction.[6] This house has a small peristyle with a paved cortile (3.50 × 4.25 m.). Other Hellenistic houses have been found here with open cortili of various sizes.[7] We may also notice the incomplete house found at Agrigento, which had a large peristyle,[8] and possibly a house at Stabiae, although this latter may well belong rather to a villa type.[9] The Greek houses at Pompeii have already been discussed. A house found at Motya may have been a peristyle house.[10] F. von Duhn points out that houses with atrium and peristyle do not seem to be found S. of Campania.[11]

[1] MERLIN, in "*Le Forum de Thuburbo Majus*", *Notes et Documents*, vii, Paris, 1922, 38-43, pl. i.

[2] Numerous other houses in N. Africa might be cited; *e.g.*, a house at *Portus Magnus* (S. GSELL, *Les Monuments Antiques de l'Algérie*, ii, Paris, 1901, 17-18).

[3] See also the houses of Sicily and Sardinia discussed below (section ix a) in considering the House of Livia (?) in Rome. Some of the houses cited in this section are included merely as evidence of the existence of Greek types of houses in Sicily and S. Italy.

[4] See E. GÀBRICI, *Mon. Ant.*, xxvii, 1921, 190-208, figs. 1-2, pls. 1-2 (dated I. Century A. D.).

[5] *Cf.* CAVALLARI, *Bullettino della Commissione di Antichità e Belle Arti in Sicilia*, viii, Palermo, 1875, pl. i, 5-7.

[6] J. HULOT, G. FOUGÈRES, *Sélinonte*, Paris, 1910, 208-209.

[7] GÀBRICI, *Mon. Ant.*, xxxiii, 1929, 61-82, pls. 1-4, 6-9, 11-12.

[8] E. A. GARDNER, *J.H.S.*, xxvi, 1906, 206-212.

[9] MICHELE RUGGIERO, *Scavi di Stabia*, Naples, 1881, pl. XII.

[10] J. I. S. WHITAKER, *Motya*, London, 1921, 194-200; B. PACE, *Ausonia*, x, 1921, Varietà, 9-10.

[11] F. VON DUHN, *Pompeji, eine Hellen. Stadt in Italien*, 3d. ed., Leipzig, 1918, 70.

b. *The House of Trimalchio*

The house of Trimalchio, supposedly a luxurious establishment somewhere near the bay of Naples, appears to be a Greek house. Let us follow the description as it is given in Petronius.[1]

(28) The guests come to the *ianua*, pass the *ostiarius*, who is engaged in shelling pease,[2] and enter the house. (29) Beyond the threshhold on the left wall (of the *fauces*) is painted a huge dog,[3] not far from the *cella* of the *ostiarius*. Following along the entire wall (? of the portico, immediately around the corner from the *fauces*) one observes pictures presenting the history of Trimalchio in four (?) panels. The last of these is at the end of the portico. It is in this same portico that a troupe of runners are practicing with their trainer (it is a large portico about a peristyle: runners would not practice in an atrium), and a large *armarium* and a shrine are located in the corner where the author finds himself after viewing the series of pictures. He now enquires of the *atriensis* about the pictures "*in medio*".[4] (30) The visitors have (circled the court and) reached the *triclinium* (*oecus* opposite the *fauces*), in the front part of which (?? *prostas*) the *procurator* is receiving accounts. On the posts of the *triclinium* (?? the lintel is supported by two columns facing the peristyle — a Greek arrangement known at Pompeii) are seen rods and axes and several notices, one of which gives the name of the *dispensator*. They have not yet crossed the threshhold, but are about to do so when they are induced to turn back to the *dispensator*, who is counting money in the.... (the atrium, according to the generally accepted emendation of Buecheler: MSS. *in precario*). They return to the *triclinium*. (72) After the first phase of the banquet, when Trimalchio suggests plunging into the bath, the guests decide to slip away. Giton leads them through the portico (through which they entered) and to the door (*ianua*), where a dog raises a tumult. Ascyltos (is terrified and) falls into the *piscina* (in his attempt to escape). The author is pulled in while trying to rescue his comrade (they are in a peristyle which contains a large and deep *piscina*, not an atrium with an *impluvium*). The *atriensis* (of whom they enquired about the pictures) saves them and pacifies the dog, but refuses to let them go out by the same door by which they entered (the house has more than one entrance;

[1] The figures in parentheses refer to sections of the text, while the statements in parentheses are my own interpretations.

[2] Such efficiency was not unknown at Pompeii. In the *Casa di M. Fabio Amandio* (I, vii, 2-3, discussed above, pp. 16-17), the doorkeeper (? a woman; *cf.* also the *graffito*) seems to have been employed in working wool, if we may judge from the equipment found. See MAIURI, *Not. Scavi*, 1927, 8, 14.

[3] Mosaic dogs on the floor of the fauces occur at Pompeii. Compare PLAUTUS, *Most.*, 849-856. One cannot be certain, of course, that this author conceived the dog as painted or in mosaic. The fact that Tranio pretends to see a picture is very noteworthy because of the early date (*Most.*, 832-840). *Cf.* TERENCE, *Eunuchus*, 583-585, and CRATINUS, *Dion.*, 42 K (? referring to paintings, or to colored marbles):

παραστάδας καὶ πρόθυρα βούλει ποικίλα.

[4] Perhaps there were two or three series of panels at different levels. *Cf.* the paintings in the House of Livia (?) or in the *Casa dei Dioscuri* (VI, ix, 6) at Pompeii. Numerous other examples might be cited.

see Vitruvius on the Greek house, VI, vii, 4). (73) They now go to the bath, of which Trimalchio is very proud (it is a luxurious house with a private bath). After the bath they return to another triclinium. (77) Trimalchio holds forth on his house: it was a shack, now it is a *templum*;[1] it has four dining rooms,[2] twenty bedrooms, two marble porticoes (a Greek house with two peristyles and no atrium), a *cenatio* (MS. *cellationem*) up-stairs, his own bedroom, his wife's sitting room, an excellent nook for the *ostiarius*, and superb accommodations for guests (? a separate apartment, as Vitruvius prescribes for the Greek house). This is not all: there is a great deal more, which Trimalchio promises to show, but he never actually does so (it may not have existed).

One would certainly expect the atrium, the center of the life of the household, at least in the earlier period, to be listed in this careful inventory if any actually existed.[3] The fact that a servant is called the "*atriensis*" is of minor importance. The *atriensis* held an important position in the Roman household, and a man of affairs would certainly have an *atriensis* no matter what type of house he possessed.[4] The *atriensis* would naturally be stationed in the first peristyle, where guests would be received and business transacted. The word *atrium* is nowhere used in the MS., and although the correct reading in section 30 seems hopelessly lost, it is practically certain that *in atrio* is not the correct reading, for such a clear and simple phrase would never have been replaced by the apparently impossible *in precario*.[5] It is conceivable that the room in question (or rather complex) was a hybrid Corinthian atrium, but extremely unlikely, owing to the presence of runners practicing here, and to the fact that it is repeatedly called a *porticus*.[6]

[1] *Casa* not *casula* is certainly the correct reading here. The Ms. *casuc* (*cf.* PETRONIUS, 38: *casam* Buecheler *cum* Cod.) is a simple confusion resulting from a misreading of *casa* written in a script with open *a*'s, where the second part of the *a* resembles a *c* (e. g., in the "ab" type of Corbie). We should expect *ic* rather than *uc*.

The context seems to indicate that here *templum* means simply "a grand structure". But according to the very ingenious suggestion of Carolus Kerényi ("*De Teletis Mercurialibus Observationes* II", *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny*, xlvii, 1923, 159) and Kenneth Scott (in a forthcoming consideration of the "*Novus Mercurius*", citing *aedes* in Petronius 74, and various other strong evidence), the house of Petronius is a *templum* since its master is a "*novus Mercurius*". The article by Kerényi is favorably reviewed and its interpretation of *templum* here is specifically accepted by Otto Weinreich, *Philologische Wochenschrift*, xlv, 1925, 693-4.

I am indebted to Professor Scott for pointing out this interpretation and for allowing me to see the MS of his forthcoming publication.

[2] Calza (*Mon. Ant.*, xxiii, 1916, 595) interprets this (*cenationes*) as meaning four stories with five rooms each. But this interpretation is quite impossible. It was a mark of luxury to have several triclinia suited for the various seasons (*cf.* VITRUVIUS VI, vii, 3; VI, iv, 1-2), and, doubtless, a mark of ostentation to change from one triclinium to another in the course of a single banquet.

[3] The nook of the *ostiarius*, of course, is included by Petronius in order that Trimalchio may be more ridiculous.

[4] *Cf.* HABEL, in PAULY-WISSOWA, ii, 2145-6, *s. v.*, *atriensis*.

[5] It is just possible that the word *precario* may have been a correction intended to go with the following.... *ut.... mitteret*, and inserted in the wrong place, perhaps in the stead of *prostade* (*pastade*) or *porticu* (on these words, *cf.* VITRUVIUS, VI, vii, 1, and the Oscan acc. *passtata*).

[6] One may obtain a fair idea of the house of Trimalchio from the *Villa di Diomede* at Pompeii.

After writing the above interpretation, I find that FRIEDRICH MARX (*Neue Jahrb.*, xxiii, 1909, 552) suggests that the house of Trimalchio was built in the new style, pointing out that the word *atrium* does not occur in the MS.

IX. ROME

a. *Actual Remains*

A house discovered in 1777 between the Viminal and the Esquiline hills furnishes an excellent example in Rome of a Greek house with cortile and porticoes.[1] Before the entrance was a small porch with two columns. The cortile was not entered directly, but by way of side corridors. In the center of this cortile was a comparatively large piscina,[2] and about three sides were porticoes, while on the fourth side was located the *oecus* with two columns supporting its lintel. A somewhat smaller room was found on each side of the *oecus* (*cf.* the *thalamos* and *amphithalamos* of Vitruvius, VI, vii, 2). The house was evidently a luxurious establishment, having door jambs, socles, and pavements of rare marble (incrustation), and having pictures which aroused the admiration of Raphael Mengs, whose copies of some (Mengs died before he had completed all of them) found their way into the private collection of the Duke of Bristol. There were scanty remains of a first floor, as well as the staircase shown on the plan.

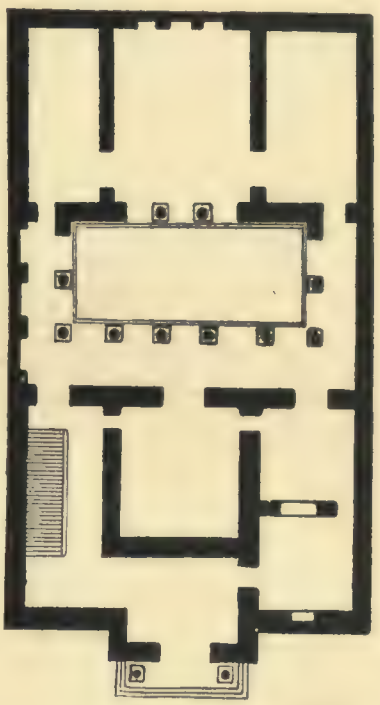

Fig. 16. House discovered in Rome in 1777.

From LANCIANI, *Mon. Ant.*, xvi, 1906, p. 265, fig. 9. By kind permission of the R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.

One of the most interesting houses in Rome is that beneath the Basilica of S. Clemente.[3] It appears likely that the area taken up by the famous Mithraeum (*ca.* 9.75 × 6.05 m.) in this house was once an open cortile. The holes in the vaulting and the numerous large high windows (three on the E. and five (?) on the N., the only two sides now accessible), prove that there must have been an open area above the Mithraeum.[4] The fact that the vaulting in this Mithraeum must partly have blocked the E. windows, and that it appears later than that of the other rooms to the E., makes it very likely, in my opinion, that the space occupied by the Mithraeum was itself originally a cortile much like that of the *Casa di Diana*. This assumption is further strengthened by the consideration that in such a large room of a well-built and elegantly decorated house, a ceiling at the height of the present vaulting in the Mithraeum would not have been tolerated in the original plan. According to the canon of Vitruvius (prescribed for square *oeci* or *oeci* twice as long as wide) the ceiling of the main (?) room here should be *ca.* 5.38 m. high. It is actually *ca.* 4.20 (at the middle). The ceiling of the Mithraeum should be *ca.* 7.90 m. high. It is actually *ca.* 3.30-3.72 m. (at the middle), lower than that of the much smaller main (?) room on the E. Furthermore, the main (?) room of this house, which has a magnificent ceiling of molded stucco and which measures *ca.* 6.03 × 4.74, opens onto the corridor, opposite the Mithraeum, by an entrance of three bays. The two stone pilasters which now form this opening and which support

[1] Fig. 16.

Cf. VITTORIO MASSIMO, *Notizie Istoriche della Villa Massimo alle Terme Diocleziane*, Rome, 1836, 213-216. The dimensions of the house are given as 125 palms (*ca.* 28 m.) × 70 palms (*ca.* 15.60 m.). A brick-stamp of 134 A. D. is reported. *Cf.* LANCIANI, *Mon. Ant.*, xvi, 1906, 266-268. Lanciani brackets this house with the house of Livia (?), and cites both as examples of the same type as that of the Laurentine villa which he is here studying.

I am indebted to Professor Lehmann-Hartleben for calling this house to my attention.

[2] *Cf.* VITTORIO MASSIMO, *op. cit.*, 213, plan.

On the porch with two columns, *cf.* the *Villa di Diomede* at Pompeii, and the columns of a late house in Rome (Piazza Colonna; only the bases were found; *cf. Not. Scavi*, 1917, 12).

[3] *Cf.* E. JUNYENT, *Il Titolo di S. Clemente in Roma*, Rome, 1932, 55-81, plan p. 59 (dated in the Flavian period). This house is difficult to examine since it is not completely excavated, the stucco hides most of the walls, and it must be seen largely by artificial light.

[4] *Ibid.*, 65.

the masonry arches appear to be late,[1] and evidently do not fit properly in their present position, but the arches themselves appear to be original (although the stucco prevents proper examination of the brickwork), and if they are original, the room immediately betrays itself as a main room with a typically Greek entrance, designed to face the cortile (?) opposite. Still, there may also have been an atrium in this house.

Near the E. corner of the baths of Caracalla lies a structure at a lower level, which is now inaccessible owing to the overgrowth of trees and bushes.[2] The accounts and plans of this house are not very satisfactory, and, of course, parts of the house, especially the upper floor (or floors), were destroyed when the baths were built. We cannot, therefore, determine the complete plan of the house, but the part remaining is nevertheless very interesting. A cortile (? 42 × 35 palms, or *ca.* 9.39 × 7.82 m.) seems to have been surrounded by a corridor on three sides,[3] with rooms opening off the corridor (one of the three sides was not explored). The fourth side of the cortile was taken up by a large fountain, 29 × 8½ palms (*ca.* 6.48 × 1.90 m.), with marble incrustation. The wall against which the fountain was placed (??) was not painted as were many of the walls of the house, but was covered with colored mosaics. Opposite the fountain stood five brick Doric columns (?? two engaged), slightly more than two palms (*ca.* 0.45 m.) in diameter. Behind the second intercolumniation (counting from the S.), opening onto the corridor, was a wide doorway, with a large window above. The walls of the room into which this door opened were apparently not on line with the cortile. In front of this door there was an entrance to the cortile. The floor of the cortile was decorated with a black and white mosaic of Tritons, Nereids, etc. There were drains in this floor. The N. and S. walls of the cortile were of substantial brick construction, if one may judge from the photographs. It seems certain that this is another example of a structure with cortile and corridors, with the former surrounded partly by brick walls or piers, and partly by columns, as in the *Casa dei Triclini*. The house had at least one upper floor, and mosaics from its rooms have been found. Of course, there may possibly have been a true atrium on the ground floor in addition to the cortile, although Lanciani says that the ground apartments were left almost untouched by Caracalla.[4]

Marx points out that the *Domus Tiberiana* and the *Domus Augustiana* are regal palaces of the Greek Hellenistic type, in which the old atrium of the Etruscans has no place, and that the "*sogenannten*" House of Livia and *Domus Gelotiana* have no connection with the ordinary Roman house.[5] He states that these imperial palaces are closely allied to the villa type, and cites the *Villa di Diomede* at Pompeii as a house of a purely Greek type. But he points out that the type with atrium and peristyle also occurs in villae.[6]

Even before reading the article of Marx, I had reached the same conclusion with regard to the House of Livia (?) and, of course, the *Villa di Diomede*.[7] The former house appears to constitute a type (three "long" rooms facing a court and receiving light and air only

[1] JUNYENT, *op. cit.*, 74. *Cf.* DE ROSSI, *Bullettino di Archeologia Christiana*, II. *Ser.*, i, 1870, 154.

[2] *Cf.* A. PELLEGRINI, "*Orti di Asinio Pollione*", *Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, 1867, 109-119. Pellegrini speaks of the "*atrio*" and calls the cortile a "*ninfeo*" or "*impluvio*". *Cf.* LANCIANI, *Forma Urbis Romae*, pl. 42 (plan); *Ruins and Excavations*, Boston (1897), 533-4, figs. 39, 207. Brick-stamps of 123 and 134 A.D. were found.

[3] The walls of this corridor had numerous paintings. *Cf.* the house of Trimalchio, considered above.

[4] LANCIANI, *Ruins and Excavations*, 533.

[5] FRIEDRICH MARX, "*Die Entwicklung des Römischen Hauses*", *Neue Jahrbucher*, xxiii, 1909, 559. The term "so-called", though quite justified here, is abused so frequently by modern scholars that I dislike to use it.

[6] *Cf.* PLINY THE YOUNGER, *Ep.*, V, 6, 15: *Multa in hac membra, atrium etiam ex more ueterum.* *Cf.* II, 17, 4. The phrase suggests that Tuscan (?) atria were rarities and things of the past.

[7] On the former house, *cf.* JORDAN and HÜLSEN, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, I, 3, Berlin, 1907, 60-63. Further bibliography in PLATNER and ASHBY, *Topographical Dict. of Anc. Rome*, *s. v.*, Domus: Augustus (2).

The *Domus Gelotiana* appears to be of the same type, but these structures on the edges of the Palatine are difficult to distinguish and limit properly.

from the front). I have not been able to discover any close parallels in Greece, but they can be found elsewhere, and the fact that they occur only in connection with a court or peristyle (apparently it would be impossible for them to be illuminated properly — they are distinctly luxury rooms — if they faced a Tuscan atrium), makes it possible that this, too, is a Greek type.[1] On the N. side of the peristyle of the *Casa dei Vettii* (VI, xv, 1) at Pompeii, there are two rooms (and space for a third, actually converted into a small garden). These rooms, as Van Buren has shown, do not belong to the house as originally planned.[2]

A house at Palermo (A) bears some resemblance to the type now under consideration, except that here, there are other rooms behind those facing the peristyle on the N. and S. sides (there are no rooms E. and W. of the peristyle).[3] These rear rooms are approached either by narrow corridors which flank the rooms facing the peristyle, or directly from these rooms themselves. The latter is the case with the middle series of three rooms N. of the peristyle.[4] The southernmost room of this series is the only one facing the peristyle. One end of this room opens onto the portico about the peristyle, the other opens onto the middle room by a large opening of three bays, with two columns supporting the lintel. The middle room is of identical width. This middle room has a comparatively simple mosaic floor (checker-board pattern), and opens onto the third room (N.) by a similar large opening with two columns. This room on the N. is somewhat larger (7.80 m. wide), and has an extremely elaborate mosaic pavement. It opens onto the N. (where the disposition is uncertain)[5] in a similar fashion with two Corinthian columns. Such a series of rooms communicating with each other by large bays of three openings separated by two columns is found in Delos III, N, rooms *c*, *d*, and *e*. But at Delos the series is not flanked by other rooms or corridors, and there are only one pair of columns, and one pair of rounded pilasters. A certain similarity to the series at Delos appears to have characterized three

[1] This is not certain, however. A. Boëthius ("Remarks on the Development of Domestic Architecture in Rome", *A.J.A.*, xxxviii, 1934, 158-170), emphasises the tripartite upper end of the complex about the Roman atrium (without any reference to the House of Livia [?]). He cites the Tuscan temple, and Etruscan chamber tombs, and thinks that there was certainly a connection between these types. Without in the least challenging this view, we may be skeptical about any close connection between the tripartite complex in the House of Livia (?) and the complex at the upper end of the atrium. In even the earliest houses at Pompeii, this latter complex receives a great deal of light from the rear. *Cf.* MAIURI, *La Villa dei Misteri*, Rome, 1931, 46-52. Note tripartite complexes in Greek architecture: *e.g.*, Delos, II, A (*Maison du Trident*), the palace at Vouni (? Greek), the *prostas-oecus*, *thalamos*, *amphithalamos* of Vitruvius (VI, vii, 2). *Cf.* GALEN, *de Antid.*, i, 3.

[2] A. W. VAN BUREN, "Further Pompeian Studies", *Mem. Amer. Acad. in Rome*, x, 1932, 27-28. *Cf.* IPPEL, "*Pertica Pompeiorum*", *Röm. Mitt.*, xlvi, 1931, 216-7, 226.

[3] *Cf.* E. GÀBRICI, *Mon. Ant.*, xxvii, 1921, 181-190. These houses are not complete, and it is possible that the complete houses had atria, as the excavators assumed. Certainly this house is a very unusual construction, however, and the mere addition of an atrium at the N. could not make it otherwise. But the existence of an atrium here is not likely. The house is dated by Gàbrici as of the II.-III. Centuries A. D.

[4] This series consists of two rooms according to Gàbrici, but note the three different mosaics.

[5] The earlier excavators thought a wall further to the N. was the wall of the atrium. In general, excavators of the past century were determined to find an atrium in all houses discovered in Africa, Sicily, or Italy.

rooms that were found among extensive but rather confused ruins near the Piazza Colonna in Rome.[1]

The remains of part of a house discovered at Cagliari (Sardinia) resemble the House of Livia (?) more closely.[2] The main part of this house consists of a cortile (4.85 × 5.15 m.; identification uncertain), at the angles of which rose four columns on bases of black marble. Between the columns ran a hollow wall, 0.60 m. high, 0.63 m. across, evidently designed to hold vines and plants. Inside was a fine mosaic depicting sea life and a small boat. To the N.E. of this cortile, behind the portico, there lay a large central room (4.30 × 5.50 m.), originally opening S.W. onto the portico (?) by a wide doorway (3.10), probably with two columns supporting the architrave. At least two small columns were found in the portico measuring (? without capitals) 1.90 m. in height. This room, too, was paved with a mosaic. On one side and connected by a doorway was a somewhat narrower room; on the other side were two narrow passageways, one containing a staircase, the other of uncertain use.

A house discovered in the Farnesina gardens in Rome and destroyed in the regularization of the Tiber may possibly have been somewhat like the House of Livia (?), but this is very uncertain, owing partly, perhaps, to inadequate description of the ruins.[3]

b. *The Marble Plan*

Mere plans of houses may be very deceptive, and the ancient marble plan of Rome is not only a mere plan, but it is drawn according to conventions which are not fully understood by us, and unless it is superior to modern plans, it contains minor mistakes and omissions in abundance. Nevertheless considerable information concerning ancient houses

[1] *Cf.* Gatti, *Not. Scavi*, 1917, 12-14, plan (room I, *etc.*). These rooms date from the end of the IV. Century A. D., but were built over pre-existing remains, and, according to the excavators, the architectural materials (?? columns) were evidently of an earlier period. The first room (I), about square, communicated with the middle room by a doorway (2.05 m. wide) formed by two walls terminated by marble pilasters (rectangular section) with Corinthian capitals, on which rested brick arches. From this middle room, one entered the third room by an entrance of three bays, formed by two granite columns (shafts 2.45 m.) with Ionic capitals, and projections from the walls at the sides. Above the three openings were brick arches. From the *chi-rho* monogram on the wall of room I, Gatti conjectured that this might be a small Christian oratory.

[2] *Cf.* Giov. Spano, *Not. Scavi*, 1876, 148-154 (325-331), pl. vi. The excavator was uncertain concerning the nature of the structure which I have termed a cortile, judging merely from the plan and description, but forming my opinion in the light of more recent discoveries, especially a Greek house at Pompeii (VII, vi, 38), discussed above, which has a very similar cortile, with the same hollow walls between the columns. The excavator did not think such an exquisite mosaic as that adorning the cortile would have been exposed to rain and weather. But many of the impluvia at Pompeii have exquisite pavements. Water, of course, brought out to the best advantage the colors of mosaics and marbles. The nature of the mosaic here (sea life and boat) might possibly warrant the assumption that this was a piscina. Merlin, in describing a house at Thurburbo Maius (in *Notes et Documents*, vii, Paris, 1922, 41), says: "*La fontaine aux scènes marines avait été, selon l'usage ordinaire, disposée juste en face de la salle principale de l'habitation, l'*oecus". (A footnote refers to another house at Thuburbo Maius with this disposition). Still, Spano's identification may have been the correct one: *cf.* the *Villa delle Colonne di Mosaico* at Pompeii (outside the Herculaneum Gate).

[3] *Cf. Not. Scavi*, 1880, 138-139, Pl. iv, fig. 2 a.

can be gathered from it, and in the absence of better sources, we are warranted in drawing conservative inferences from it.

Fragments 109 b c [1] appear to present a house of irregular shape with an arcade and with shops along a street front, and a wide outside staircase (? ? necessitated by irregular terrain and not leading to an upper floor). The main part of the house is grouped about a peristyle, [2] one side of which is taken up by a large room opening along its full width onto the portico, or possibly directly onto the open area. One observes also on the plan an *exedra* (? not an ala) and next to it a corridor, as if it were the main entrance, but there are no walls indicated at the ends of the corridors beside the large room. Possibly the cortile was a sort of bazaar such as that of the *Casa del Larario* at Ostia. At any rate, we have here another fairly clear example at Rome of the Greek type with cortile and porticoes.

X. CONCLUSION

We have seen that the most characteristic features of the *insulae* with cortile and corridors at Ostia are found in combination in various Greek houses. So far as I have been able to discover, Greek houses are the only houses in the Mediterranean world which do exhibit these characteristics in combination. We have also seen that such houses were widespread in N. Africa in the period of the Roman empire and that they are found at Pompeii, [3] Herculaneum, and possibly elsewhere in Campania (House of Trimalchio). Moreover, we have found several possible examples of this type in Rome itself, one of which (House under the Basilica of S. Clemente) is dated considerably earlier than the earliest *insula* with cortile and corridors at Ostia. Two others were built probably in the reign of Hadrian, about the same time that the *Casa dei Triclini* and the *Casa dei Dipinti* were constructed. The weight of this evidence, in my opinion, makes it extremely probable that the *insulae* with cortili and corridors are a direct adaptation of a type of Greek house to the needs of metropolitan architecture. Developed *insulae* of great height, of course, were well known in Rome even before the end of the Republic, [4] and no one would deny that, in all probability, the regularization and vertical development of the type was a Roman

[1] Plate 2 A.

Cf. JORDAN, *Forma Urbis Romae*, Berlin, 1874.

[2] In the reproduction by Jordan, this is a peristyle of three sides, but the stone itself (in the Antiquarium in Rome) appears to represent a single column in the middle of the fourth side. This is doubtless a stonecutter's mistake, but whether the peristyle was actually one of three sides with the *oecus* opening directly onto the open area or one of four sides is impossible to determine.

[3] Such houses may possibly have existed at Pompeii even before the Tuscan atrium was introduced. Recent excavations beneath the *Casa del Chirurgo* (VI, i, 10) failed to discover traces of any impluvium earlier than the extant impluvium of tufa, which itself is later than the original structure (limestone) of the house. *Cf.* MAIURI, *Not. Scavi*, 1930, 392.

[4] *Cf.* BOËTHIUS, "The Neronian 'Nova Urbs'", *Corolla Archaeologica*, (*Skrifter*, ii), Lund, 1932, 90. Other features characteristic of *insulae* had also developed; *e.g.*, staircases opening directly onto the street (LIVY, xxi, 62, 3, 218 B.C.; xxxvi, 37, 2, 191 B.C.; xxxix, 14, 2, 186 B.C.).

contribution.[1] I surmise that this Roman adaptation was accomplished in precisely the same fashion as that in which, according to Lehmann-Hartleben,[2] the Roman adaptation of the *horrea* (such as the *Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana*[3] at Ostia) was accomplished:

> *Ihr italischer Typus ist uns durch neuere Ausgrabungen bekanntgeworden als unmittelbar aus den Privatspeicheranlagen schmuckloser Peristylgebäude, wie wir sie im hellenistischen Delos kennen, entwickelt und in monumentale Ausmasse zu grossen Peristylhöfen mit mehrstöckigen Magazinräumen ringsum wieder ähnlich den Markplätzen und Portiken gesteigert....*

B. THE TYPE WITH OPEN CORTILE

The *insulae* with cortili and corridors form a very distinctive type, especially when the main room is located opposite the main entrance and has two columns supporting its lintel. One may feel confidence in tracing this type from Greece to Italy. But the other types of *insulae* at Ostia are not equally distinctive. The type with open cortile is much simpler, and houses with open cortili were common in the ancient world. One may well be skeptical over any attempt to discover the origin of such a type, since it might develop independently in various places. Boëthius has ably traced the early development of the shop-house in Italy, and he suggests that such a house of the usual narrow type might be deepened and, so to speak, become the façade of a large square or rectangular house with inner light-wells as in the *Casa di Diana* or the *Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana* at Ostia.[4] But he also says that with regard to these deep house-blocks with light-wells, the possibility of Hellenistic and Oriental influences must be considered. The idea of building a

[1] In general, *cf.* BOËTHIUS, "Remarks on the Development of Domestic Architecture in Rome", in *A.J.A.*, xxxviii, 1934, 158-170.

[2] In PAULY-WISSOWA, *Zweite Reihe*, iii, 2078, *s.v.*, *Städtebau*; *Arch. Anz.*, 1926, 112; *cf.* F. NOACK, *Die Antike*, ii, 1926, 223-224; A. JARDÉ, *B.C.H.*, xxix, 1905, 6-40. It is hardly necessary to point out that many architects in Italy were Greeks, and that the Greek house is given considerable attention by Vitruvius. Likewise, it is obvious that much had already been borrowed from the Greeks in the field of domestic architecture (not to speak of architecture in general): first of all, the peristyle; *oeci Corinthii, Aegyptii, Cyziceni, peristylum Rhodiacum, balneum Laconicum, etc. etc.* (*Cf.* MARX, *Neue Jahrb.*, xxiii, 1909, 551; MAIURI, *Atti del I° Congr. Naz. di Studi Rom.*, i, 1929, 170-1. On pavements, *cf.* M. E. BLAKE, *Mem. Amer. Acad. in Rome*, viii, 1930, 50-1).

[3] It is noteworthy that the largest room of these *horrea* is located directly opposite the entrance, and is the only room which opens directly onto the open area. It does not, however, extend the height of two stories. *Cf.* CALZA, *Ostia: Guida...*, 2d. ed., 147.

[4] AXEL BOËTHIUS, "Remarks on the Development of Domestic Architecture in Rome", *A.J.A.*, xxxviii, 1934, 158-170, esp. 168. Neither the *Casa di Diana* nor the *Horrea Epagathiana et Epaphroditiana*, however, could easily develop independently. Still, without the *Casa dei Triclini* and the *Casa del Tempio Rotondo*, comparatively recent discoveries, one might well be quite at a loss to discover Greek influence in the *Casa dei Dipinti*, and perhaps in the *Casa di Diana*. The development of the façade which Boëthius has traced is of the first importance in the development of every type of *insula*.

house around a court or light-well behind the row of shops facing the street, he continues, seems, in fact, so natural that it must have been invented over and over again. Likewise, Lehmann-Hartleben assumes that crowded houses with small rooms, such as those at Marzabotto, Vetulonia, and Veii, foreshadow the *insulae*, and that such houses must have occurred early in the popular quarters of Rome.[1] We must be wary, therefore, of attempting to discover the origin and trace the spread of simple types of houses, not conforming to any rigid plan.

i. OSTIA

The best examples of the type with open cortile at Ostia are the *Casa del Larario*[2] and the *Casa dietro la Curia*, although there are other less clearly defined and less substantially built houses at Ostia with open cortili.

The *CASA DEL LARARIO* is situated on the N. E. corner of the *Decumanus* and the *Via della Casa del Larario* (*ca.* 31.20 × 26.50 m.). It has entrances on both streets, flanked by brick pilasters, which lead into a large central cortile (*ca.* 15.50 × 5.80 m.), with a fountain in the center,[3] and shops about all four sides, in addition to those facing the two streets. This cortile and its shops evidently formed a sort of bazaar open to the public. Calza points out the resemblance, in this respect, to the Turkish *Khan* and the Arabic *Fonduk*, and to our modern galleries.[4] In the actual architecture of the building, however, there appears nothing particularly distinctive, except the absence of a staircase opening directly onto the street. But since the cortile was open to the public, the staircase opening onto it was doubtless as accessible as a staircase opening directly onto the street would have been. This staircase led from the cortile to the second floor (and floor or floors above; there were probably four stories), as well as to the two rooms on the first floor above the rooms or shops to the N. and E. of the staircase. The shops on the cortile, like those on the street, have wide entrances, designed to be closed by shutters, which were run in the usual grooves cut in the threshold and lintel, and were protected at each side of the doorway by a brick shoulder which extended along the front several centimeters beyond the face of the doorway. Above these wide doors (and above the entrance to the stairway), windows were located, designed to illuminate the rooms above the shops, the floors of which were supported by travertine consoles *ca.* 2.75 m. (at the bottom of the consoles)

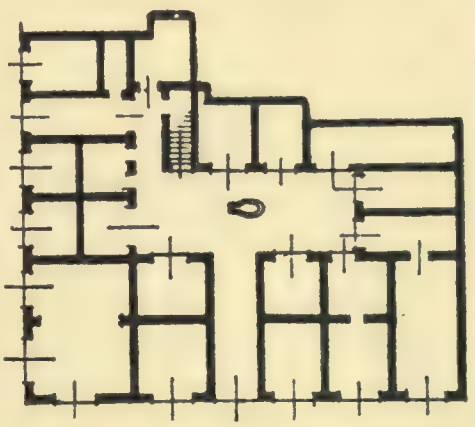

Fig. 17. The *Casa del Larario* at Ostia. This house faces south.
From CALZA, *Ostia: Guida...*, p. 59, fig. 20. By kind permission of Commendatore Calza.

[1] In PAULY-WISSOWA, *Zweite Reihe*, iii, 2040-2041, *s.v.*, *Städtebau*.

[2] Fig. 17.
Cf. CALZA, *Ostia: Guida Storico-Monumentale*, 2d. ed., Rome, (1929), 152-154; *Not. Scavi*, 1923, 183-5, pl. iv, C; v, 2; vi, 3-4. *Cf.* the reconstruction by Lawrence in CALZA, "*Le Origini...*", *Architettura ed Arti Decorative*, 1923, (23), but the house probably had a flat roof and more windows on the upper floors. See also C. C. BRIGGS, *Mem. Amer. Acad. in Rome*, viii, 1930, p. 167; pls. 51, 54, 55. Dated in the middle of the second century A. D.

[3] In its present form, this basin is late. The brickwork is irregular and the mortar is very poor. But at the W. end below the level of the cortile can be seen excellent brickwork of an earlier period. There is also a well in the N. E. part of the cortile.

[4] CALZA, *Ostia: Guida...*, 2d. ed., 152. *Cf.* the *Casa del Termopolio*, *ibid.*, 126-128. In general, *cf.* the *Mercato di Traiano* on the *Via Nazionale* in Rome, a quite different, covered structure (BOËTHIUS and RIEFSTAHL, *Appunti sul Mercato di Traiano*, in *Roma*, ix, 1931, 447-454, 501-508; x, 1932, 159-170).

above the ground. Over these rooms, the ceilings were vaulted (both barrel and cross vaults, according to the size and shape of the room). This vaulting begins only a short distance above the top of the consoles. Of course the floors of the upper rooms must have been somewhat higher than the top of the consoles, upon which were first laid beams running lengthwise along the face of the wall, over which, presumably, cross beams were laid.[1] In the N. E. room the vaulting is preserved, and in the center it rises *ca.* 2.50 m. above the tops of the consoles. Each upper room, except those adjacent to the staircase, was reached by stairs in the shop below, the first few steps and a small landing of which were in good brick construction covered with stucco, the rest presumably in wood. The entrance corridor on the *Via della Casa del Larario* is provided with two thresholds, between which are a doorway and a small vaulted recess.[2] An unusual feature of this house is the use of numerous clay pipes built into the walls (one measures 0.165 m. in diameter). These pipes seem to make it clear that this house had a terrace roof.[3]

Calza makes the very plausible suggestion that the stairs at the second landing may have opened onto an internal balcony (there is hardly space for the second flight to reach its upper landing before coming on line with the cortile).[4] Such a balcony would seem indispensable to the upper floors, he points out, since all the rooms could hardly have been connected. It may have been of wood and limited to two sides of the cortile. Still there is no sure trace of any internal balcony, he points out, and it would be the only example of such a balcony at Ostia. Fragments of an outer balcony similar to that of the *Casa di Diana*, however, were found in the street.

With regard to the lighting of the rooms, it is noteworthy that the room behind (N.) the stairway received no illumination except from the door opening onto the corridor, and the room above it, none except from the door on the first landing of the stairs (but note the window on the cortile over the lower entrance to the stairs). Both these rooms must have been very dark. The N. E. shop and the room above it must also have been poorly illuminated.

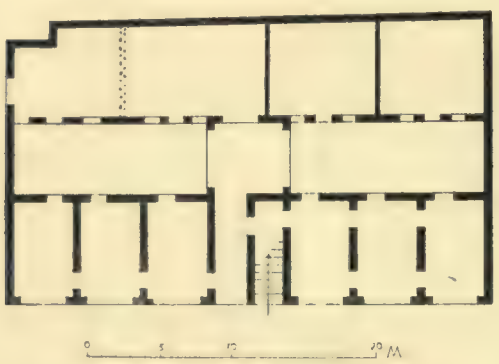

Fig. 18. The *Casa dietro la Curia* at Ostia (*Casa a navate*). This house faces north. After CALZA, *Ostia: Guida...*, p. 58, fig. 19. By kind permission of Commendatore Calza.

Opposite the main entrance into the cortile, a small shrine which gives the house its name is built into the wall.

The *CASA DIETRO LA CURIA* (*Caseggiato a Navate*)[5] lies on the S. side of the *Via delle Case Repubblicane*, just off the Forum (*ca.* 35.10 × 20.60 m.). Facing the street are two series of three shops each, connected with one another and with the cortile. All the shops were provided with rooms above (holes for supporting rafters are found *ca.* 2.75 m. above the floor), which were covered by a vaulted ceiling (barrel), beginning *ca.* 4.10 m. above the floor of the shop. In the center of the façade separating the two series

[1] That "stretchers" were first laid on the consoles may be inferred from the holes in the center division walls of two shops on the W. These walls appear to be later than the original construction of the house, being very thin (*ca.* 0.30 m.), having bricks spaced more widely than those of the neighboring walls, and containing these holes for beams.

[2] The W. wall of this recess is of the same thickness and construction as the walls mentioned in the previous note. The ceiling, also, appears late.

[3] There are four pipes in the S. walls of the cortile, (on the façade); two pipes in the walls of the rooms on the E. side of the cortile (in the middle of the block); and two in the walls of the rooms N. of the cortile (in the middle of the block). It is the location of these latter pipes — they would have come out at the apex of a pointed roof — and the large number of pipes that make the assumption that the roof was flat extremely plausible. There are also three drainpipes in the E. wall of the house, and possibly there once were others not now observable. On terrace roofs, *cf.* SENECA, *Epp.*, 122, 8: *... non uiuunt co⟨ntra⟩ naturam qui pomaria in summis turribus serunt? quorum siluae in tectis domuum ac fastigiis nutant, inde ortis radicibus, quo inprobe cacumina egissent?* *Cf.* CALZA, in *Mon. Ant.*, xxiii, 1916, 578; "*Le Origini...*", (6-8).

[4] *Cf. Not. Scavi*, 1923, 184-5.

[5] Fig. 18.

Cf. CALZA, *Ostia: Guida...*, 2d. ed., 150; *Not. Scavi*, 1923, 180-182, pl. iv, 1, A; vi, 1 (dated end of the first century A. D. or beginning of the second). *Cf.* ARIF MÜFID, *Stockwerkbau der G. u. R.*, Berlin, 1932, 40-1. The name "*Caseggiato a Navate*" is distinctly misleading, in my opinion, for reasons given in the description.

of shops lie a staircase and a corridor leading into the long narrow cortile. The entrances to the staircase and corridor are not flanked by the usual brick pilasters, but the brickwork of the façade here is noticeably finer, and at about the level of the top of the doorways on each side are recesses in the walls (partly restored), designed to hold terra-cotta plaques like that in the cortile of the *Casa di Diana* and that in the *Via della Fortuna*.[1] The long narrow cortile (*ca.* 34.00 × 5.14 m.) is not utilized on the ends, and thus from the plan gives the impression of being a long central corridor; but it is no more a corridor that any other interior cortile, such as that of the *Casa del Larario*. To the S. of the cortile were originally four very large rooms. Two of these, lying on the S. W., appear to have had each one doorway flanked by two windows on the ground level. The wall facing the cortile is not preserved at the level of the first floor, but there were doubtless windows here also, although there are no signs of rooms on the first floor ever having existed above these two rooms. The inner walls remain to a height greater than that at which the vaulting begins in the *Casa del Larario* (which lies next to these rooms on the S.), but there are no signs of vaulting.[2] These rooms were very large (*ca.* 7.70 × 6.40 m.), and unless they were subdivided by more or less temporary walls, we should expect them to extend two floors in height. E. of these two rooms is located an even larger room (*ca.* 9.65 × 6.27 m.), originally having had two doors and two windows onto the cortile on the ground level. In the W. wall of this room there are three late recesses at slightly different levels which at a period subsequent to the original construction may have served to support a first floor.[3] At some later period, the E. division wall of this room was removed, but one may easily observe where it joined the remaining walls. The last room to the S. E. (*ca.* 7.70 × 6.20 (5.00) m.) had two doors and one window on the cortile on the ground level, and originally had an outer doorway in the E. wall, but this was later closed, doubtless when the portico was constructed in the Forum, the back wall of which abuts on the E. wall of this room.

In the middle of the cortile, there was an arched structure at the level of the first floor joining the N. section of the building with the S. section. The vaulting of this structure was supported by four brick extensions from the N. and S. walls, and these extensions did not cease with the first floor. Accordingly, it is possible that there was a similar structure on each of the upper floors. It is usually assumed that this structure served as a bridge connecting the two sections of the building, since, apparently, only the N. section contained a staircase. This would seem an entirely reasonable assumption were it not for the fact that the rooms of the S. section originally did not have any first floor (mezzanine), and at least two of these rooms never had such a first floor at any period. Furthermore, the doorway which connected the landing of the staircase on the first floor with the top of this arched structure is distinctly not original. It is possible that this doorway was opened at the same time that a first floor was built in the large room S. E. of this structure (if such a first floor actually was built). It is also possible that similar arched structures connected the upper floors of the two sections of the building even in the original construction.[4] But the division walls of the S. section are only *ca.* 0.44 m. thick, although the division walls of the N. section are *ca.* 0.59 m.; so the original height of the S. section is problematical.

A study of the houses on the ancient marble plan of Rome, where the open area varies greatly in size and shape, convinces me that there is no very sharp distinction between houses such as the *Casa del Larario* and the *Casa dietro la Curia*, however different their plans may appear at first glance. The comparison of this latter house with a basilica appears extremely questionable. The mere ground-plan proves deceptive, for surely the elevation would not give any suggestion of a basilica.

[1] *Cf.* CALZA, *Ostia: Guida...*, 2d. ed., 140-141.

[2] The condition of the S. W. corner of one of these rooms is slightly questionable in this respect, but the mass lodged here appears to be rubbish rather than remains of vaulting.

[3] It is possible that the room was subdivided. Part of a late wall is now found near the back of one room.

[4] Conceivably the arched structure on the level of the first floor may have been used as a sort of kiosk, in the opinion of Professor Van Buren.

ii. ETRURIA

Houses with open cortili are found at Marzabotto (near Bologna), belonging to a very early period.[1] The plan of that particular house, the original construction of which can be most definitely distinguished, is surprisingly regular for such an early date.[2] This house has a rectangular cortile (11.20 × 5.60 m.), with a cylindrical cistern in one corner. The pavement of the cortile is similar to that of the streets of the town, though it is not completely preserved. One side of the cortile abuts on a party wall, beyond which is another cortile. Accordingly, one end of this cortile is not utilized, just as both ends of the cortile in the *Casa dietro la Curia* at Ostia are not utilized.

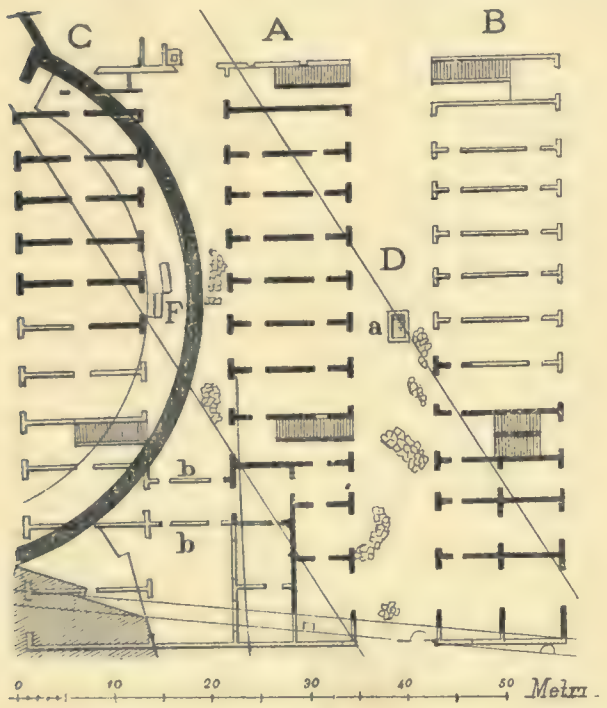

Fig. 19. Building discovered under the *Via Nazionale* in Rome. The top of this Figure faces approximately east.

From *Bull. Com.*, iv, 1876, pl. xvi-xvii. By kind permission of the *Bullettino d. Commissione Archeol. Comunale di Roma.*

iii. ROME

a. *Actual Remains*

A very interesting *insula* was discovered some fifty years ago under the *Via Nazionale.*[3] This building, according to the plan and description of the excavators, consisted of three parallel sections, each 58.30 × 12.40 m. Between the sections were two courts or alleys, 8.50 m. wide. In the middle of one of these was a rectangular basin, and across the other apparently ran a wall (? or bridge). Each section had ten or more shops on the ground floor, most of which extended through the entire section without a masonry division wall (? or any other), and had doors opening onto the shops on each side. This is somewhat similar to the arrangements of the shops of the *Casa dietro la Curia*, which are only about two-thirds as deep, however, as were these shops in Rome. Each section also presumably had two staircases. Between sections *C* and *A*, a passageway was assumed. Possibly there was no passageway on the ground floor, but rather a bridge on the first, although section *C* certainly possessed one, and presumably had two stairways of its own. The three sections of this building

[1] LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN (in PAULY-WISSOWA, *Zweite Reihe*, iii, 2032-3) dates the city to which these houses belong at the beginning of the sixth century B. C. *Cf.* CALZA, *Mon. Ant.*, xxiii, 1916, 560, note 1. It will be noted that the plan of these houses (*Mon. Ant.*, i, 1889-1890, pl. v) appears somewhat confused, but when the walls that appeared distinctly later to the excavators have been eliminated, we have at least one house (*Insula* VIII, W. half) that is extremely regular and clearly thought out. The description of Grenier (*Bologne Villanovienne et Etrusque, Bibl. des Écoles fr. d'Athènes et de Rome*, 106, Paris, 1912, 121), therefore, appears to be mistaken: "*... un assemblage hétéroclite de petites salles, groupées en essaim serré autour d'une cour intérieure*". Accordingly, Grenier's contention that the closest parallel is to be found in the Prehellenic Orient, Gnossos, Phaestus, and especially Gournia, is extremely doubtful.

As pointed out elsewhere, houses with open cortili are widespread in the Ancient World. They are found in Sicily, of course. *Cf.* GÀBRICI, *Mon. Ant.*, xxxiii, 1930, 61-70 (Selinunte).

[2] *Cf.* E. BRIZIO, *Mon. Ant.*, i, 1889-1890, 314-6, pl. v, *Insula* VIII, W. half.

[3] Fig. 19.

Cf. V. VESPIGNANI, *Bull. Com.* (*Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Municipale*), iv, 1876, 102-106 (dated by brick-stamps slightly before the middle of the second century A. D.).

formed a structural unit, and appeared to have been built at the same time, but one should observe how easily the narrow shop-house here passes into the type with cortile (?) simply by the juxtaposition of several units, or, *vice versa*, how easily the type with long central cortile, not utilized on the ends, breaks up into independent units with two outer façades.

An excellently preserved *insula* has recently been uncovered, built against the W. face of the Capitoline hill, under the steps leading to the church of *S. Maria in Aracoeli* (*Casa di Via Giulio Romano*).[1] The complete publication of this house has not yet appeared, and it is still uncertain whether this building belongs to the type with central cortile or to that without. Viewing this *insula* from the modern thoroughfare, one sees the façade of the second floor (partly restored) and above, parts of the inner walls of the third, fourth, and fifth floors. The ground and first floors are below the present level, but the balcony in masonry, resting on travertine consoles, may be observed. This whole façade may have faced a court, and there may have been a similar block on the W. side of that court (some remains attributed to this block were found, according to the preliminary report). One may still observe that the block did continue on the N. at an obtuse angle to the large block already described. The disposition of the building on the S. is also uncertain, although it is at least clear that the third story did not extend on the S., but came to a definite end. This *insula* is in part a terrace structure, since the third floor is much deeper than the lower floors, resting partly on native rock. The building certainly consisted of at least six stories.[2] As usual, the ground floor of this *insula* is occupied with shops, and the first floor with rooms above the shops with a single window. The second floor is divided into large rooms, each with two or three windows on the façade and a vaulted ceiling. The third floor, being deeper, is not divided into a single row of rooms, but into a row of apartments.[3] These apartments are approached through a long, common corridor at the rear, off of which open individual corridors for each of the apartments, which are usually divided into three rooms. The room on the W. alone lies on the façade. The two rear rooms were illuminated, but very poorly, by windows in the division walls and usually by slit windows opening onto the next corridor. The fourth floor (and presumably the fifth) was laid out in a somewhat similar manner (?). It is noteworthy that the long corridor at the rear of the third floor and the back rooms of each apartment must have been very dark indeed.

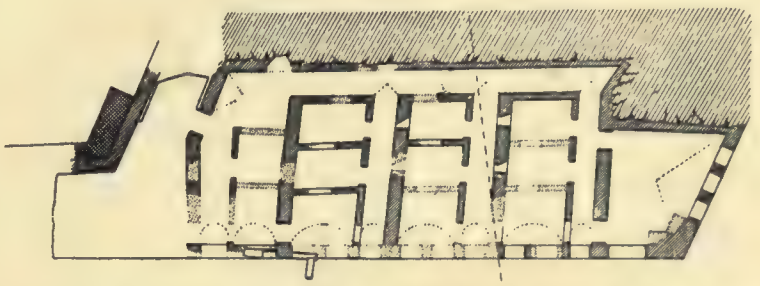

Fig. 20. Plan of the third floor of the *Casa di Via Giulio Romano* in Rome. This façade faces approximately west.
From MUÑOZ and COLINI, *Campidoglio*, Rome, 1928, fig. 34. By kind permission of Dr. A. M. Colini.

S. of the steps leading to the church of S. Maria in Aracoeli, beneath the Tarpeian rock on the Via Tor dei Specchi were found the remains of three sides of another house with an open cortile, termed *La Grande Insula* by Colini.[4] Still further S. the remains of another house were discovered, grouped about two sides of a cortile or alley.[5]

Remains of houses with open cortili have also been found in the Piazza Colonna, but the plans of these houses were very uncertain.[6]

[1] *Cf.* A. MUÑOZ and A. M. COLINI, *Campidoglio*, Rome, 1930, 45-52. Most of the building is dated in the second century A. D. (first half), but the rear wall, in the first century A. D. (second half).

[2] It will be noted that the rear wall abuts directly onto the cliff (MUÑOZ and COLINI, *op. cit.*, fig. 24), and does not have an extra retaining wall as the house in front of the tomb of the Scipiones (see below), and as Vitruvius prescribes (VII, iv, 1). On the third floor, however, the rear corridor may be considered as performing this function. The first and second floors, now below the street level, were inaccessible to me.

[3] Fig. 20.

[4] *Op. cit.*, 54-62, figs. 39-40 (dated at the beginning of the second century A. D.). See also the unnumbered plan before the plates in the same work. Colini mentions the possibility that the central area may have been an alley. It was paved with basalt.

[5] *Ibid.*, 64-68, figs. 45-6 and plan before plates (dated in the first half of the second century). Colini terms the room marked *D* on the plan *il vero e proprio atrio*. It certainly bears no resemblance to a Tuscan atrium, if we may judge merely from the plan and description.

[6] *Cf.* E. GATTI, *Not. Scavi*, 1917, 9-20, plan after p. 16.

b. *The Marble Plan*

The open cortile type must have been very common in Rome under the Empire, and it is probably the most frequently represented on the marble plan, if we may group together all those examples which have a central cortile without a portico, regardless of size or shape.

In fragments 176, 177 a b, we have a cortile almost square, approached by way of a corridor, but apparently with only two rooms opening off the cortile.[1] The adjoining house apparently has a long narrow central cortile (missing in part). Sometimes such a cortile is open at one end.[2] On fragment 170, it is possible that there is an example of a structure over the central cortile.[3] Numerous other examples of houses with open cortili could be cited from the plan.

C. THE TYPE WITHOUT CORTILE

i. OSTIA

The development of the shop-house in Rome and Italy has been ably traced by Boëthius.[4] Such houses must have exerted great influence upon the development of the façade and of the elevation of all types of *insulae*, and they may have been the direct ancestors of the type without cortile, such as the second and third sections of the *Casa dei Dipinti*. The most typical shop-houses at Ostia, however, are those along both sides of the *Cardo* (*Via del Campidoglio*).[5] Hardly less typical, as Boëthius acutely observes,[6] are the shops with mezzanines above them and arcades in front of them, which are built about the outside of the theatre.[7] These latter, however, could hardly be called apartment houses, although the former with their three or four stories and staircases leading directly from the street are certainly a type of apartment house. On one side (W.) of the *Cardo*, the shops are one row deep. On the other side (E.), one row of shops faces the *Cardo* and another row the *Via dei Dipinti*. This building had a terrace roof, if we may judge from the many drainpipes in the middle of the block.

Between the *Via della Fontana* and the *Via delle Corporazioni* lies an *insula*, one section of which has a row of shops along the latter street, and E. of these shops and facing the former street, an apartment with five rooms on the ground floor (*ca.* 6.80 m. deep), and an interior staircase leading to perhaps an equal number of rooms on the

[1] Jordan's reproduction shows three rooms opening off this cortile (*Forma Urbis Romae*, Berlin, 1874).

Note the numerous staircases opening directly onto the streets in this and the adjoining house.

[2] Plate 2, B. (F.U.R., 170).

[3] Plate 2 B.

[4] Axel Boëthius, "Remarks on the Development of Domestic Architecture in Rome", *A.J.A.*, xxxviii, 1934, 158-170.

[5] *Cf.* Calza, *Ostia: Guida...*, 2d. ed., 139-140.

[6] Professor Boëthius made this observation in a personal conversation with permission to include it here.

[7] *Cf.* Calza, *Ostia: Guida...*, 2d. ed., 106-110.

first floor.[1] The other section reverses this arrangement, having its shops on the *Via della Fontana* and its apartment (somewhat similar to that of the first section) on the *Via delle Corporazioni*. Both these apartments have a single façade, and behind this façade is a single row of rooms, though each of the apartments had a doorway connecting it with one of the shops on the other façade. Slightly different is the arrangement of the *Casa di Via dei Vigili*,[2] where there is still only one façade (? except behind the staircases), but the apartment is somewhat deeper (*ca.* 10.70 m.), and the two end rooms are arranged one behind the other with a window in the division wall. Here, too, there is an inside staircase leading to the rooms of this apartment on the first floor,[3] and similarly to the arrangement of the former *insula*, the inner staircase is separated from the façade by a small room, although in the *Casa di Via dei Vigili*, the staircase apparently was lighted from a light well.

The second and third sections of the *Casa dei Dipinti* have two façades, one of which faces the street and the other a large private garden.[4] But the plan of these apartments (*ca.* 10.00 m. deep) is closely allied to that of the *Casa di Via dei Vigili*, as is clearly shown by the northernmost pair of rooms in both sections of the *Casa dei Dipinti*, which are arranged in a manner precisely similar to that in which the end rooms of the *Casa di Via dei Vigili* are arranged. In spite of the fact that the N. W. rooms of the former house are on a façade, they have no windows in the outer wall, but receive their light and air from the N. E. rooms by way of large windows in the division walls. These N. E. rooms, however, are abundantly lighted by windows on two levels (the rooms extended to the level of the ceiling of the first floor).

It is remarkable that all three of these *insulae* have various characteristics in common: the apartments have rooms on the first as well as on the ground floors, and accordingly have interior staircases;[5] there are separate staircases leading directly from the street (one from the garden in the *Casa dei Dipinti*) to the second and third (?) floors; the rooms on the extremities are the most important, with the exception of that room next the entrance, which may be used as a staircase, a kitchen, etc. There seems to be a close relationship, therefore, between these houses, some with one, some with two façades.[6]

ii. ROME

a. *Actual Remains*

Various houses of the type without cortile exist in Rome, but none of them shows any such distinctive arrangement of rooms as that of the houses of Ostia discussed above, except the *Casa di Via Giulio Romano*, which may have had a cortile.[7] We may mention, however, the house about which is built the church of Sant'Anastasia,[8] possibly the house under the church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo,[9] and possibly the well-preserved and recently

[1] *Ibid.*, 102-105; *cf. Mon. Ant.*, xxiii, 1916, pl. 1.

[2] *Cf.* CALZA, *Mon. Ant.*, xxiii, 1916, 582, fig. 14. Only the S. section of this house is now observable.

[3] There is an inner threshold beyond this staircase, and it may possibly be that the upper apartment was rented separately. One cannot now determine whether or not the S. W. room extended two floors in height.

[4] *Cf.* CALZA, *Mon. Ant.*, xxvi, 1920, 321-430. *Cf.* Fig. 10, above.

[5] But compare note 3, above.

[6] The arrangement, by which an informal corridor is left between the rooms and the front which is their source of light, is slightly reminiscent of that followed in the N. rooms of Pompeii, VII, vi, 30, discussed above (section I).

[7] See above.

[8] *Cf.* P. B. WHITEHEAD, *A.J.A.*, xxxi, 1927, 406-410; E. JUNYENT, *Riv. di Arch. Christ.*, vii, 1930, 91-106.

[9] *Cf.* PLATNER and ASHBY, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London, 1929, *s. v.*, *Domus: Iohannes et Paulus.*

restored house in front of the tomb of the Scipiones.[1] This last house has a retaining wall at the back such as Vitruvius prescribes and may possibly have had a central cortile as well. But it certainly had a series of rooms, two rooms deep.

b. *The Marble Plan*

Numerous examples of the type without cortile might be cited from the Marble Plan. Its typical appearance is a long single or double row of shops, often with arcades on one or more façades. Presumably these buildings consisted of several stories with rooms or apartments on the upper floors. Several good examples are found on fragment 170.[2]

On fragment 175 may be observed an interesting block of houses, one section of which has a long narrow cortile in the center, the other section, though of precisely the same width, has no cortile.[3] Accordingly, the rooms of the latter are much deeper, especially those on one side of the house, than the rooms of the section which has a central cortile. Somewhat similar is the disposition of two adjacent houses on the Vicus Bublarius, represented on fragment 62.[4] Here, however, one house has a very narrow light-well, which does not extend the full length of the house, while the next house, of the same width and square, has four full façades and no light well or cortile.

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[1] The complete publication of this house has not yet appeared. *Cf.* A. M. Colini, in *Capitolium*, iii, 1927-1928, 32 plan p. 29 (dated in the third century A. D.).

F.U.R. 170 represents a house apparently somewhat similar to this, except that the house represented on the Marble Plan apparently has not only a back retaining wall (?) forming a light well, but, also, a long central cortile. See Plate 2 B.

[2] Plate 2 B.

[3] Plate 3 A.

[4] Plate 3 B.

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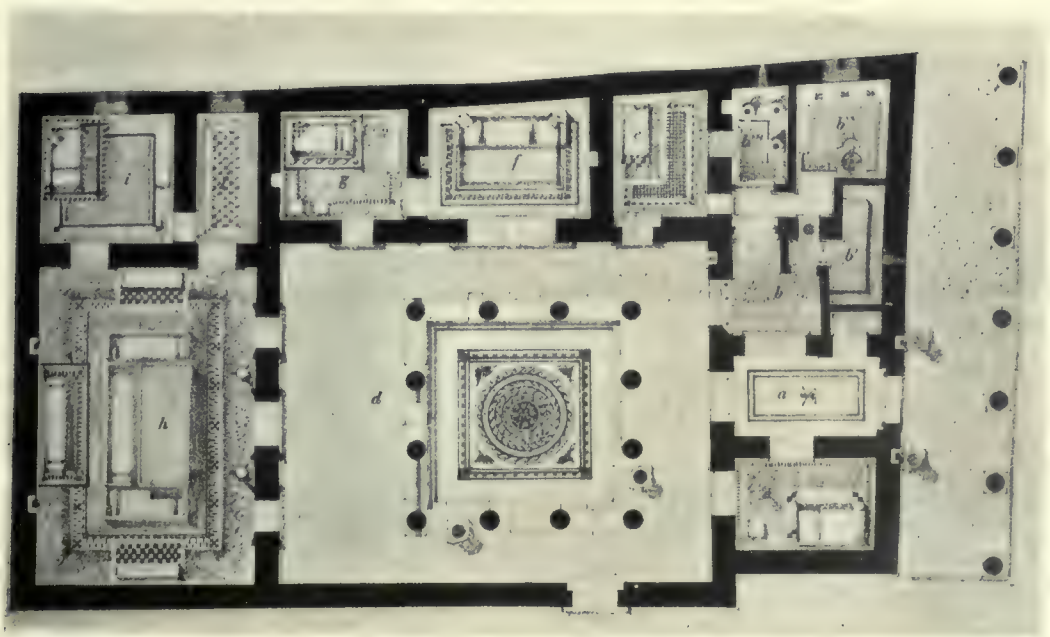
A. The *Maison du Trident* at Delos. From CHAMONARD, *Délos*, VIII, pl. 13. By kind permission of the French School of Athens and M. de Boccard.



B. The *Maison des Dauphins* at Delos (restored plan). This house faces south. It measures *ca.* 16.30 (16.50) × 27.50 m.
From CHAMONARD, *op. cit.*, pl. 23-26. With the same kind permission.

A. (Left). A fragment of the Marble Plan of Rome (*Forma Urbis Romae*, JORDAN, 109, b c).

B. (Below). A fragment of the Marble Plan of Rome (JORDAN, 170; photographs by courtesy of Drs. Muñoz and Colini of the *Governatorato di Roma*).

A. A fragment of the Marble Plan of Rome (JORDAN, 175).

B. A fragment of the Marble Plan of Rome
(JORDAN, 65; photographs by courtesy of Drs. Muñoz and Colini of the *Governatorato di Roma*).

THE REGIA

FRANK E. BROWN

(PLATES 4-8)

The privilege of investigating the remains of the Regia was liberally accorded by Commendatore Alfonso Bartoli, Director of the Excavations of the Forum and Palatine. Especial thanks for help and advice freely rendered are due to Gorham Phillips Stevens, Esq., former Director of the American Academy in Rome, and to Dr. E. B. Van Deman.

THE site of the Regia (plates 4, 5) was first laid bare in the general clearing of the region in the years 1872-1875. The surface remains then exposed were first commented on by F. Dutert.[1] Identified by Nichols in 1886,[2] the building was excavated by Jordan and Nichols in the same year.[3] It was re-excavated by Huelsen and Schulze in 1889,[4] and again by Boni in 1899.[5] Of these desultory excavations none save that of Jordan and Nichols has been more than perfunctorily published. The material found in the *pozzi* of the Regia and about the building itself remains for the most part unpublished and unexhibited. Parts of the site once uncovered have since been filled in again. The only serious attempts to disentangle and date the visible remains are those of Van Deman and Frank.[6]

Throughout the history that these excavations have revealed the Regia preserved the form of an irregular polygon roughly triangular in outline situated above the eastern end of the forum area in the bifurcation of the two streets dipping down into the Forum proper. It consisted of two distinct parts: a southern trapezoidal roofed area, and a northern polygonal area in large part open to the sky. The southern area was in all periods divided by partition walls into three sections of which the easternmost was the porch or vestibule. The earliest remains are a number of cappellaccio foundation walls.[7] It is highly probable, however, that careful excavation would reveal traces of still earlier building.

[1] *Le Forum Romain*, Paris, 1876, 14, 40.

[2] *Roem. Mitt.*, i, 1886, 94 ff.

[3] JORDAN, *Roem. Mitt.*, i, 1886, 99 ff.; NICHOLS, *Archaeologia*, L, pt. 1, 227 ff.

[4] *Jb. Arch. I.*, iv, 1889, 228 ff.

[5] *Not. Scavi*, 1899, 129 ff., 220 ff., 486 ff.; *B. Com. Rom.*, 1899, 146 ff.; 1903, 42 ff.; *Cl. Rev.*, xiii, 1899, 186, 322, 466 ff.; *Arch. Anz.*, 1900, 7 ff.; *Roem. Mitt.*, xvii, 1902, 62 ff.; xx, 1905, 77 ff.; *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche*, v, 1903, 518 ff.

[6] E. B. VAN DEMAN, *J.R.S.*, xii, 1922, 28-29; T. FRANK, *Roman Buildings of the Republic*, 1924, 81-86.

[7] In describing the tufas of the Regia the nomenclature of Frank's *Roman Buildings of the Republic* is employed.

A trial sinking for stratification, made during the excavations of 1899, discovered 8.00 m. or more of fill between these foundations and alluvial soil. [1]

The foundations of cappellaccio in the south area are in part visible in place beside the more generously spaced later foundations; in part they are concealed beneath these same later walls. Those that are visible form the east, north, and west walls of the east section and the west wall of the middle section. Their presence under the west end of the later south wall is attested by Jordan's section, and they may just be detected beneath the exterior west wall. [2] In the north area they appear for practically the whole length of the north wall and in a fragment of cross wall in the eastern part of the area. No traces remain of the east wall of this area, and its west wall was, apparently, completely demolished in a subsequent rebuilding. The cappellaccio blocks of which these foundations are composed are 0.28-0.35 m. thick, 0.44-0.48 m. wide, and 0.70-0.72 m. long. They are accurately dressed and laid dry with fine close joints in a fairly regular bond. They exhibit no trace of that false « anathyrosis » of the front arrisses which is typical of the earliest work in cappellaccio, but resemble rather the bedding courses of the « Graecostasis » (Huelsen's), Lacus Curtius, and shrine of Venus Cloacina. [3] In the east and middle sections of the south area and for the greater part of the north wall of the north area these walls have a thickness of one block, but at the eastern end of the latter and in the fragment of cross wall they are two blocks thick. Of the rest only the faces are visible.

This complex of remains is sufficient to give us the general plan of the building. The south area was a trapezoid about 6.40 m. in width and 20.00 m. in greatest length. It was subdivided into three chambers: a large western one about 11.20 m. long; a central one 5.40 m. long; and an eastern one 2.95-3.25 m. long. The south, west, and north walls were oriented to the points of the compass. The east wall ran obliquely making an angle of 95° with the south wall. The Regia is remarkable among the buildings of the Forum in having retained its early ritual orientation throughout its history. [4]

The north area was a large irregular polygon. Its north wall, preserved where it was incorporated in the concrete of a later period, falls into two portions with a divergence of alignment of about 8°. The exact point of juncture of the two portions was destroyed by one of the later concrete foundation walls, but may be plotted as falling approximately

[1] *Not. Scavi*, 1899, 221.

[2] *Roem. Mitt.*, i, 1886, Tav. vi, c.

[3] For the technique of cappellaccio, see: DELBRUECK, *Der Apollotempel auf dem Marsfelde*, 11 ff.; FRANK, *op. cit.*, *passim*; SAËFLUND, *Le Mura di Roma Repubblicana*, 1932, *passim*. The presence of these foundations in the south area was overlooked by Frank, who was thereby led to the mistaken conclusion that the later foundations of larger cappellaccio blocks in this area represented the earliest structure.

[4] For religious orientation in the Forum, see: PIGANIOL, *Essai sur les Origines de Rome* (*Bibl. des Écoles Franç. d'Athènes et de Rome*, 110, 1917), 298-303, a revision of the views expounded in his earlier *Origines du Forum* in *Mélanges de l'École Franç. de Rome*, 1908, 233 ff.; and VAN DEMAN, *J.R.S.*, xii, 1922, 2-7. *Cf.* PLATNER and ASHBY, *Topographical Dictionary*, *s. v. Forum*.

For the resemblance of the plan of the south area to that of a megaron, see: E. TEA, *B. Com. Rom.*, 1920, 155-162; DEUBNER, *Roem. Mitt.*, xxxvi, 1921, 20-21. It might be argued with equal cogency from the obliquity of the east foundation wall that the plan is that of a terramare.

8.00 m. west of the actual east end of the wall. This curious feature of the plan is to be explained by the exigences of the terrain. Part way down the north side of the building the street of this period, like the street of the Sullan period, swung somewhat to the south of its Augustan direction.[1] Frank is evidently mistaken in supposing that this north foundation lay originally in one line, that of its eastern end, and that during a subsequent reconstruction " for a part of the distance the workmen drew the blocks forward in order to save the material ", thus producing an apparent divergence.[2] The blocks of the west portion lie as they were originally coursed, undisturbed, three courses high. Two odd blocks preserved somewhat apart from the rest in the concrete behind the well at the north-west corner and two more similarly preserved in the concrete spur wall at the north-west corner retain the direction and perfect coursing of the rest. These conditions can only have been fulfilled if the concrete were simply poured over the wall practically as it stood. The wall was cleanly broken through in two or three places, but its alignment seems to have been tampered with only at the west end of the east portion where four or five blocks were displaced to make way for the heavy travertine foundations of a marble base-block.

All traces of the west wall of the north area in this period have disappeared, but what evidence there is indicates that it followed the same line as the later inner west wall of Grotta Oscura tufa. This wall met the cappellaccio north wall of the area in an approximate right angle at the north-west corner. The two cappellaccio blocks in the north-west corner concrete spur are the blocks next the original corner blocks. It has been remarked that the west wall of the south area of this period lies directly beneath the actually visible wall of that side. But if the Grotta Oscura wall in question be produced southward, it will be found to pass about 1.50 m. to the west of the north-west corner of the south area. It is clear, on the other hand, that it once did extend further to the south. When later the small concrete-walled area was broken into the west side of the Regia, blocks were torn from the south extremity of the wall leaving a ragged end abutting against the concrete. The only possible manner in which the junction of these two west walls could have been effected was by the prolungation of the wall of the south area beyond its own north-west corner to meet the Grotta Oscura wall. The obtuse corner thus formed would have fallen just at the south edge of the present north wall of the little concrete-walled area. So much, then, for the Grotta Oscura wall. But the cappellaccio west wall of the south area and north wall of the north area are constant and integral parts of this scheme. It follows that the original cappellaccio west wall which connected the two must have had much the same line as the Grotta Oscura wall which performed the same function. The early outline of the west side of the building may thus be hypothetically plotted, though all trace of the original corner and prolungation of the south area wall was wiped out by the insertion of the little concrete-walled area.

[1] For the Sullan street, see below, pp. 74-75.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 84.

The north area thus delimited was in all probability, at least for the most part, an open court. Its irregularity of plan would have made roofing a practical impossibility. It has already been remarked, however, that a portion of the north wall at the east end together with a fragment of cross wall is two blocks thick in distinction to the other visible walls in the area. This distinction makes it likely that the wider footings were intended to carry a solid heavier superstructure, as indeed the existence of footings for a partition would indicate. The vestiges of the cross wall consist of two blocks of cappellaccio visible in the manhole of the large late drain, lying side by side *in situ*. From their position it appears that the partition footings of which they are a part met the north wall at right angles. From this and from the fact that the produced line of the exterior east wall of the south area falls considerably short of the existing east end of the north wall of the north area it may be assumed that one or two blocks are missing from the east end of the north wall and that the original east wall of the north area left the north wall at right angles to make an angle of about 147° with the east wall of the south area. We may, therefore, plausibly restore a small trapezoidal chamber, about 5.00 m. by 7.50 m. in its greatest length and breadth, at the east end of the north area. The elements of the plan here laid down remained constant and unchanged throughout the Regia's history. Later remodellings chiefly concerned themselves with the attempt to lend a sort of architectural unity to this somewhat heterogeneous scheme.

Of the superstructure of the building which we are attempting to reconstruct nothing remains. There is no clue as to the material of the supporting members that rose from the cappellaccio footings. All the upper parts, however, were indubitably of wood. In each of the three wells of the Regia area were found scanty fragments of architectural terra-cotta. It can hardly be doubted that they once formed part of the fictile ornament of the building. Two of them can be dated as early as the second half of the fourth century B. C. The others are in the Hellenistic style of the third century.[1] The two wells which evince the greatest antiquity may be approximately dated from their contents. Both are lined with thin slabs of cappellaccio set on edge, an undateable technique which persists from the earliest times down to the disuse of wells. At the bottom of the well which stood just outside the south wall of the Regia near the south-east corner were Etrusco-campanian cups and a Hellenistic black glaze cylix.[2] A date near the end of the fourth century B. C. is indicated. The Etrusco-campanian sherds found near its bottom give a similar date for the well which lies near the north-west corner between the travertine north steps and the old cappellaccio wall. This well, too, in the period which we are discussing, lay in the street just outside the building.[3]

[1] For these terra-cottas, see: *Not. Scavi*, 1899, 128, 221, 487; E. Douglas Van Buren, *J.R.S.*, iv, 1914, 183 ff.; and *Mem. Amer. Acad. in Rome*, ii, 1918, 32; Du Jardin, *Historia*, v, 1931, 398-399. *Cf.* the apparently Hellenistic antefix found in the excavations of 1886, *Roem. Mitt.*, iv, 1889, 245.

[2] *Not. Scavi*, 1899, 221; *Historia*, v, 1931, 399.

[3] *Not. Scavi*, 1899, 221.

None of the subsidiary structures within the walls of the Regia can be associated with this period. The so-called "tholos" near the center of the north area is a round cistern 4.36 m. deep and 3.02 m. in greatest internal diameter. Its walls rise perpendicularly from the bottom for 2.25 m., then incline sharply inward for the remaining 2.10 m., giving the upper part a truncated cone shape. It is 1.03 m. in diameter at the mouth. It is lined with cappellaccio slabs which average 0.23 m. thick in regular upright courses 0.35-0.42 m. high with their surfaces worked curvilinear and waterproofed with a coating of plaster. Its floor is of *opus signinum*, slightly concave, with a rope moulding 0.06 m. thick at the foot of the vertical wall. The top ring of cappellaccio slabs meets a circle of Monte Verde slabs the upper surface of which is flush with the bottoms of the Monte Verde paving slabs of the area. It was, therefore, at least in its present state, built to the Monte Verde paving, the slabs of which would have been fitted to and have held in place its puteal of white limestone resting on the circle of Monte Verde. Fragments of this puteal, its upper margin inscribed "(R)EGIA" in late republican lettering, were found amid the débris in the cistern. The floor of *opus signinum* can hardly be dated before 150 B. C.[1] It is more difficult to date the peperino-lined well in the south-west corner of the north area. The entire upper part has been destroyed so that no indications of level remain. Its lining would probably put it after the middle of the third century. At its bottom was found a fragmentary third century antefix with a moulded egg-and-dart pattern.[2] In the absence of more precise literary data and architectural detail, the assignment to definite parts of the building of the various sacraria that are known to have found place in it must remain problematical.[3]

Frank has not hesitated to assign the Regia foundations which he considers the earliest to the regal period. As the foregoing will, however, have shown, there is nothing in the actual remains to presuppose an antiquity so remote. Such evidence as may be drawn from the construction, the occasional finds, and the related structures points rather to a date not earlier than 350 B. C. In dearth of testimony to the contrary it will, accordingly, be prudent to proceed on the assumption that the foundations in question were laid sometime in the second half of the fourth century.[4] It has already been suggested that

[1] *Not. Scavi*, 1899, 222-223; *cf.* HUELSEN, *Arch. Anz.*, 1900, 7; and DEUBNER, *Roem. Mitt.*, xxxvi, 1921, 19. For *opus signinum* in general, see: BLAKE, *Pavements of Roman Buildings of the Republic and Early Empire*, *MAAR.*, viii, 1930, 22 ff.

[2] *Not. Scavi*, 1899, 486-487. For the introduction of peperino, see: FRANK, *op. cit.*, 22-24.

[3] The literary material on the cults and sacraria of the Regia is collected by JORDAN, *Topographie*, I, ii, 298 ff., 423 ff.; *cf.* WISSOWA, *Religion u. Kultus*[2], 502; FRAZER, *Fasti of Ovid*, iv, 193 ff. For attempts to localise the cults in the Regia, see: GATTI, *B. Com. Rom.*, xxvii, 1899, 145 ff.; BONI, *Atti del Congresso*, v, 1903, 518 ff.; VAGLIERI, *B. Com. Rom.*, xxxi, 1903, 42 ff.; rightly criticized by Huelsen, *Arch. Anz.*, 1900, 7-8; *Roem. Mitt.*, xx, 1905, 77 ff.; *Roman Forum* (trans. Carter, 1909), 192 ff.; *cf.* RUGGIERO, *Foro Romano*, 225 ff.; see also: TEA, *B. Com. Rom.*, xlviii, 1920, 155 ff.; DEUBNER, *Roem. Mitt.*, xxxvi, 1921, 19 ff.

[4] PAIS, *Ricerche sulla Storia e sul Diritto Romano*, i, 1915, 367 ff., has proposed a similar date on different grounds.

these foundations do not represent the earliest Regia.[1] The suggestion is borne out by the features of the plan. The north area has all the earmarks of a casual annexation to an earlier original building. The south building is compact, self-contained, and oriented, the original inaugurated Regia. To the North is simply the irregular area left between that building and the nearby street. Yet in the period represented by the cappellaccio foundations which we have just analyzed, if our reconstruction of the west side be correct, the north area is of one piece with the south. The construction is identical throughout, and the prolungation of the west wall of the south area to form part of the west wall of the north area is evidence of the two parts' contemporaneity. It is thus possible to posit at least two periods of building to precede the earliest visible cappellaccio foundations: 1) the south building as a single original unit; 2) the addition to it of the north area. The want of evidence of high antiquity for the actual remains does not, then, necessarily presuppose the fourth century foundation of the Regia. On the contrary, there is every reason to suppose that there were pre-existing buildings on the site considerably more ancient. In any case it would seem futile to attempt to deduce from the ruins any conclusion as to the destruction or preservation of the pontifical records during the Gallic invasion.[2]

The regia was gutted by fire in 148 B. C.[3] It is recounted by Julius Obsequens as a prodigy that one of the two laurels in the court went unharmed. The inference is that amid the general destruction this one tree remained miraculously unscathed. It is reasonable to conjecture that the entire wooden superstructure perished. In any event the lower portions of the buiding were so seriously affected that it was found necessary to rebuild the west wall of the north area from the foundations. This wall, which still stands in some places four courses high above ground with at least two courses now under ground, owes its excellent preservation to the fact that it was re-used in later rebuilding. The visible portion is composed of blocks of Grotta Oscura tufa 0.52-0.565 m. high and wide, the length of which varies from 0.90 to 1.80 m. They are laid without mortar and show a slight anathyrosis in the vertical joints, though none in the horizontal. The outer faces of the three upper courses are worked smooth. The lowest course has broad chisel-drafted margins with the center of the face left roughly bossed. It is doubtful whether this course was intended to be seen above ground, and it may be assumed that the ground level of this period was approximately at the joint between the first and second visible courses, or about 13.00 m. a. s. l.[4] Below the four visible courses are at least two courses of stepped footings exposed by Huelsen and Schulze in the excavations of 1889.[5] They probably consist of two or more rough courses of headers. This is the

[1] See above, p. 67.

[2] As Roberts, *MAAR.*, ii, 1918, 59 ff., and Frank, *op. cit.*, 83 f. do.

[3] Julius Obsequens, 19; Livy, *Epit. Oxyrh.*, 127-129.

[4] Levels are reckoned from those established in the *Media Pars Urbis* of the Scuola di Applicazione per gli Ingegneri of Rome, Florence, 1911.

[5] *Jb. Arch. I.*, iv, 1889, 245.

typical second century technique in Grotta Oscura; *e. g.* the early shops of the Basilica Aemilia (179 B. C.), and the rooms along the north side of the precinct of Vesta. From other technical considerations it is clear that we are in the second half of the second century. The 0.52-0.565 m. measure is typical. In the third century it would have been 0.58-0.60 m.[1] No quarry marks appear. The shop walls of the Basilica Aemilia of 179 B. C. still show them. A similar sort of anathyrosis occurs in the Grotta Oscura of the Aqua Marcia of 144 B. C. We cannot be far wide of the mark, then, in dating this wall of the Regia with Frank[2] to a reconstruction after the fire of 148 B. C.

We have seen how this wall probably followed the line of the cappellaccio wall which it replaced.[3] The foundations of the building seem to have undergone no other changes. Perhaps the now scarcely discernible little foundation of cappellaccio near the west wall of the north area with a circular projection should be ascribed to about this period. It apparently bore a cylindrical altar of peperino, a fragment of which inscribed with the rubricated letters A · COVRI was found nearby. The letters are likened by Boni to those on the sarcophagi of the Scipios and are dated in the second century by Frank.[4] Perhaps also the peperino-lined well in the south-west corner of the north area belongs to the same general epoch.[5] It is questionable whether the Monte Verde paving of the north area is as early as 148, as Frank would make it.

This paving originally covered the whole north area including the east fore-room as two remaining slabs in that room show. In the west court it was composed of a central flagging of slabs 0.59-0.72 m. broad, averaging about 1.00 m. long and 0.15 m. thick, carefully fitted together without mortar and showing a marked anathyrosis. This central paving was bordered, at least on the north and south, by a crepido raised 0.15 m. Its slabs, from 0.52 to 0.60 m. wide, are 0.30 m. thick and extremely variable in length, 0.52-1.54 m. The position of the little cappellaccio altar base, which, though only 1.10 m. from the west wall, is in alignment with the central flagging, shows that the crepido, if it existed on the west side at all, was here very narrow. The north and south margins are laid parallel to the bounding walls of the area and, accordingly, differ in orientation from the slabs of the central part. The south is represented by the fragments of four slabs. Two were terminal slabs of the central section, their northern edges cut to the orientation of the central paving, their southern to that of the southern margin. Two were initial slabs of the margin itself, oriented to the north wall of the south area. From the position of these slabs the width of the margin to the exterior of the north wall of the south area may be measured as 2.60 m. or five slabs. The crepido on the north was designed to present a straight inner edge to the court, while the angle in the north wall

[1] *Cf.* FRANK, *op. cit.*, 6-7.
[2] *Op. cit.*, 82.
[3] See above, p. 69.
[4] BONI, *Not. Scavi*, 1899, 222; *Atti del Congresso*, v, 1903, 524; FRANK, *op. cit.*, 82.
[5] See above, p. 71.

was taken up by the outer edge. It would originally have been about 2.10 m. or four slabs wide at its east end and 1.15 m. or two slabs wide at its west. The outer rows of slabs have disappeared, but the western end of the partially preserved inner row still shows its north edge cut to the slant of the north wall.[1] The technique and measures of this paving correspond to those of the Sullan Monte Verde pavings about the forum, and it is probably safe to assign it with Van Deman to the Sullan period.[2] By analogy with the early shops of the Basilica Aemilia, the rooms along the north side of the precinct of Vesta, and the late second century shops along the Sacra Via it may be conjectured that the north area of the Regia was still being paved with cappellaccio slabs in 148 B. C.

To the Sullan period may also be assigned the large central cistern.[3] The oldest dated object recovered from it was a fragment of early Arretine ware. In the top of the cappellaccio lining just under the Monte Verde capping ring on the north-west side is the cutting for the mouth of a drain, 0.13 m. wide and 0.08 m. high. Just East of the cistern are three fragmentary sections of drains. Two are of Monte Verde, the other of Grotta Oscura. They differ considerably in size. The Grotta Oscura drain is the largest and most fragmentary. Cut in blocks 0.60 m. wide and 0.35 m. thick, its channel is 0.17 m. wide and 0.18 m. deep. It runs in a north and south direction, is broken off at the southern end, and at the North runs into the fill under a later marble paving. The larger Monte Verde drain has a channel 0.18 m. wide and 0.16 m. deep, and runs for about 3.00 m. in a north-west — south-east direction. For 0.62 m. at its north-west end it is covered by an Anio tufa cover slab. The cutting through the paving slabs shows that originally it extended further south-east to join the Grotta Oscura drain about 0.60 m. beyond its present end. It is, therefore, impossible that it was meant to supplant the Grotta Oscura drain, as Frank supposes.[4] The smaller drain of Monte Verde tufa, its channel 0.10 m. wide and 0.09 m. deep, runs for 1.60 m. north-east — south-west toward a point slightly to the east of the cistern. It starts just beside the larger Monte Verde drain from a closed end. Neither the connection of any of these drains with the cutting in the cistern nor their precise relation to each other is apparent. Probably they were quite independent of the cistern, the supply of holy water in which would only be replenished at stated intervals by some special device. They cannot conceivably be related with any system of drainage from the roofs, and we are left to suppose that they served a group of altars of sacrifice.

Just west of the north-west corner concrete spur of the Regia beneath the remains of a structure of the fourth or fifth century A. D. a half dozen blocks of the Sacra Via of the Sullan period are visible at 13.19 m. a. s. l. They must form very nearly the south side

[1] For this paving, see: VAN DEMAN, *J.R.S.*, xii, 1922, 28-29; FRANK, *op. cit.*, 82.

[2] For Sullan pavements, see: VAN DEMAN, *ibid.*, *passim*.

[3] See above, p. 71.

[4] *Op. cit.*, 82

of the street, which ran considerably south of its Augustan course, and was joined a few meters further west by the Sullan Vicus Vestae.[1]

Through the Sullan period the Regia had not perceptibly changed in plan. Its ancient, straggling, intractable outline, sacred in its original orientation and further hallowed by the accumulation of centuries and religious observances, was fixed inalterably. The old cappellaccio foundations, save on the west side of the north area, still served their original end. It has been customary to assume that there was no rebuilding of the Regia between 148 B. C. or Sulla's day and 36 B. C. Nevertheless study of the existing remains affords strong evidence against such a conviction.

The question hinges upon the date of the south area foundation walls in cappellaccio blocks of large size. These foundations are visible along the whole south wall except at the east end, where they are covered by a modern paving, along the partition wall between the middle and west sections, and in a short stretch of the north wall adjoining this partition wall to the east. We may, therefore, confidently assume their presence under the entire length of the north and south walls and under the partition wall between the east and middle sections. They do not appear to have extended under the exterior east wall, where Jordan's section reveals only a deep concrete bed.[2] Of these blocks also is a westward prolungation of the south wall at a slightly different angle for 5.90 m. to form the foundation of the front wall of a small trapezoidal annex on the South. Though not visible, we may restore them also under the west wall of this annex.

The masonry of these foundations is uniform. The cappellaccio blocks measure 0.57-0.60 m. wide, 0.41-0.44 m. high, and 0.86-0.94 m. long. They are laid with the length across the wall, *i. e.* as headers, in fairly regular bond. They are not tight-jointed but a space of 0.01-0.04 m. is left between the joints; the faces are roughly drafted along the margins with the center left somewhat bossy. The south wall runs three courses high footed on the older cappellaccio.[3] The lowest of the three courses of the north wall is advanced 0.64 m. to rest on the old cappellaccio foundations. The cross wall between the middle and west sections stands three or more courses high. In the west extension of the south wall three of the five blocks are laid as stretchers, the other two as headers.

Jordan, who first uncovered these foundations, contended that they were the foundations for the building of 36 B. C. This theory has, as far as I know, found no expressed adherents.[4] It was customary to describe them vaguely as "Republican" until Frank, overlooking the older cappellaccio walls in this area, stated them to be of the original Regal building.[5] This position is quite untenable in the face of the older cappellaccio foundations, and of the fact that the larger cappellaccio blocks form the foundation

[1] *Cf.* Van Deman, *J.R.S.*, xii, 1922, 10-11, 19-20; *A.J.A.*, xxvii, 1923, 397.

[2] *Roem. Mitt.*, i, 1886, pl. vi.

[3] See above, p. 68, note 2.

[4] *Roem. Mitt.*, i, 1886, 104-105.

[5] See above, p. 68, note 3.

of the south annex, which, as has been seen, was no part of the Regia's plan down through the Sullan period. The dimensions and cutting of these blocks are in themselves sufficiently arresting, for they constitute a remarkable exception to the traditional technique of working the stone. Because of its friable laminate composition and liability to crumble under pressure, cappellaccio was always cut and laid in slablike blocks, wider than high. Bating the Regia, from the earliest examples of cappellaccio construction down to the latest, from the inner Palatine wall to the shrine of Venus Cloacina, the dimensions are constant, roughly 0.25-0.35 m. high, 0.40-0.50 m. wide, and 0.70-0.80 m. long. Though the faces are often left roughly pitched or broached, I know of no cases of studied rustication. The large cappellaccio blocks of the Regia are necessarily still slablike in form, but their width and length and the rustication of their faces is only to be explained as an imitation of the dimensions and technique adopted in cutting the harder tufas. Such imitation points to a relatively advanced date.

Let us see whether Jordan's theory will stand examination. The cappellaccio foundations in question, as we have noted, are not only restricted to the south area of the Regia but do not intrude upon the easternmost division of that area. The restoration of 36 B. C., on the other hand, was a remodelling of the entire complex. It has left its traces everywhere. These traces show that the architect of 36 B.C., where he was not utilizing previous constructions, ran foundations of concrete, laid an euthynteria course of travertine, and raised his marble superstructure on that. In one case, the outer north wall of the north area, the marble superstructure rested on a solid three-course foundation of travertine. In no case has he employed fresh cappellaccio. His method is the standard Augustan one, and the serious use of cappellaccio as a weight-bearing stone is completely foreign to it. If it is inherently unlikely that he used cappellaccio at all, it is still more improbable that, having employed it in the south half of the building, he should sedulously eschew it in the north half, and there adopt an entirely different technique. Stranger still that, having rebuilt the foundations of the south area in fresh cappellaccio, he should have had recourse to concrete for the extreme east wall of the same area. There is clear evidence from the stones themselves that such is not the case.

In the west chamber of the south section there remains the central part of a paving of Anio tufa at 0.52 m. above the level of the Monte Verde paving of the north area. The slabs of this pavement are 0.28-0.33 m. thick, 0.57-0.64 m. wide, and about 1.00-1.50 m. long. The joints are careful and tight but show no traces of anathyrosis. They abut against a circular substructure, 2.60 m. in diameter, approximately in the center of the room — not exactly however, for its center is 0.78 m. west and 0.49 m. north of the room's center. Pavement and substructure rest upon a bed of earth mixed with tufa refuse and fragments of rough terra-cotta. The substructure, which from its level and bedding is contemporary with the pavement, is composed of seven large slabs of cappellaccio, aver-

aging 0.43 m. thick and 0.61 m. wide. That is, they are cut to the same special measure as the large cappellaccio foundation blocks of the south section.[1] Frank correctly dated the pavement as post-Sullan. The substructure is necessarily of the same date. Both are prior to 36 B. C., since they lie 0.75 m. below the marble paving of 36 B. C. There is, at least, a strong presumption that the cappellaccio foundations of the same characteristic measure as the substructure are also of the same date.

Such a presumption finds justification in a study of the west side of the building. Just west of the Grotta Oscura west wall of the north section, which was assigned to 148 B. C., lies one course of a second wall of Grotta Oscura, diverging from the first at an angle of about 9°. Its blocks, of which only the tops are showing, measure 0.52-0.61 m. wide and 0.71-1.43 m. long. They form a roughly laid footing course with an occasional block laid crossways of the wall and projecting on both sides. 5.50 m. south of its present north end it throws out a spur against the wall of 148. From the shallow cuttings on the face of the latter where the spur wall abutted against it, it is clear that the spur wall once reached a height of at least two more courses. The main wall itself was never more than a retaining wall, rising, probably, to the height of the Monte Verde paving of the north area. Had it been intended to replace the wall of 148 and to carry a new back wall or row of columns of the north area, the wall of 148 would necessarily have been razed to below the level of the Monte Verde paving. It still rises, however, one course above that paving. The new west wall, therefore, was simply a podium wall designed to adjust the back of the building to some change that had taken place there. Frank, however, is in error when he suggests that it was intended to harmonize the back of the Regia with the street now hidden under the temple of Julius Caesar and the arch of Augustus. This street continued the line of the east side of the Castor temple, and was actually more nearly parallel to the wall of 148 than to the later one.[2] At its north end the new wall joined the corner of the old north cappellaccio wall and the wall of 148. Its south end made a corner with the north concrete wall of the trapezoidal structure in the center of the west side.[3] This, then, was the new element of the west side to which the new wall conformed. The space between it and the wall of 148 was filled with large irregular chunks of Anio tufa packed in the spalls left from the working of Anio blocks and small quantities of waste pinkish-grey mortar. The wall itself was razed by the architects of 36 B. C. and the wall of 148 re-employed in their building, since its orientation agreed better with that of the rear of the Caesar temple. The new west wall is thus posterior to the wall of 148 and was destroyed in 36 B. C., while the fill between it and the wall of 148 indicates a time of construction in Anio tufa and late republican mortar.

[1] *Not. Scavi*, 1899, 221; *J.R.S.*, xii, 1922, 29; FRANK, *op. cit.*, 85.

[2] FRANK, *op. cit.*, 84. For this street, see: VAN DEMAN, *J.R.S.*, xii, 1922, 10-11, 19-20, plan I.

[3] The continuation of the wall thus far is no longer visible, but is shown on the plans made at the time of the excavations of 1899. See: *Roem. Mitt.*, xvii, 1902, 63; *B. Com. Rom.*, xlviii, 1920, pl. vi.

The little trapezoidal concrete structure, as we have seen, breaks into the west side of the building at the point of juncture of the old west walls of the north and south areas. It is formed by three separately laid concrete walls making a deep niche-like space about 4.00 m. in greatest length and 2.15 m. in greatest width. Its north and east walls each show two distinct types of concrete. The bottom part of either, up to the level of the Monte Verde paving in the north area, has caementa predominantly of cappellaccio and Grotta Oscura in about equal amounts, with Monte Verde and peperino a bad second and third. There is a scattering of Anio chunks and a few travertine chips. These caementa show no standard nor regularity of laying. They run fairly large, but are quite uneven. They are embedded in a dull pinkish-grey, very friable mortar. At this level there is a clean break. A sharp line of demarcation indicates that all above this line in the two walls was laid separately and later. For the remaining 1.06 m. of its height above this line, *i. e.* exactly to the level of the bottom of the paving of 36 B. C., the caementa consist entirely of Anio in fairly regular chunks about the size of a grape fruit. The mortar is firmer and somewhat pinker and darker.

The body of the south concrete wall, which is faced on both sides with reticulate and rises to the same height as the other two walls, is for 2.10 m. from its east end of the same concrete throughout as the lower portions of the other two walls. At this point there is a clear vertical break, and the east portion of the wall is faced off with rectangular bricks of Grotta Oscura tufa, wedge-shaped in section, 0.093-0.10 m. wide, 0.195-0.23 m. long, and about 0.10 m. thick. Beyond this point the concrete changes and for the remaining 1.40 m. is like that of the upper portions of the north and east walls. The reticulate cunei of the east portion are predominantly of Monte Verde with a scattering of Grotta Oscura and peperino bits. They are slovenly cut, seldom displaying a perfectly square end, and show a general irregularity of laying. They vary from 0.045 m. to 0.085 m. in width. The cunei of the west portion, on the other hand, are predominantly of Anio with occasional bits of Monte Verde. They are much more precisely squared and laid, and never vary from a width of 0.06 m. to 0.07 m.

The south wall is thus, like the other two, the product of two distinct building periods. For all their definition these periods must have followed hard upon each other's heels. Their differences of concrete and facing, though marked in their character as differences, are not such as to warrant the assumption of an intervening period of more than 15 or 20 years. The upper portions of the north and east walls, since they rise from the level of the Sullan Monte Verde pavement to that of the paving of 36 B. C., presumably date from the reconstruction of 36 B. C. The character of the concrete is in perfect accord with this attribution.[1] From its identity to them in this respect the west portion of the south

[1] For early Augustan concrete, see: VAN DEMAN, *A.J.A.*, xvi, 1912, 391-392.

wall must also be ascribed to 36 B. C. We are left, then, with a date within roughly 20 years before 36 B. C. for the lower portions of the north and east walls and the east portion of the south wall. We have seen that the new outer west wall of the north area in Grotta Oscura was constructed between 148 and 36 B. C. to adjust the rear of the north area to the new concrete structure. It must, consequently, be contemporary with the earlier portions of that structure, dating, let us say, shortly after 55 B. C. This logic is confirmed by the fact that the refuse mortar in the fill between this wall and the wall of 148 is identical with that in the earlier portions of the little concrete structure.

But the south wall of the little concrete structure is also the rear wall of the west annex to the south area, which must obviously have been added at the date indicated for its own rear wall, *i. e.* shortly after 55 B. C. The foundations of the south and also presumably of the west walls of this annex were, as we have noticed, of cappellaccio blocks of the same exceptional measures and style as those of the south area itself. We are thus led to a confirmation of our presumption from the evidence of the south area as to the date of these cappellaccio foundations. They are contemporary with the foundations of the south and west walls of the annex and so with the little concrete structure and with the outer west Grotta Oscura foundation, and fall with the others within the 20 odd years preceding 36 B. C. With this information in hand it is possible to reconstruct the operations of the architect to whom these constructions are due.

He was faced with the problem of rebuilding the entire south part of the Regia. He might not alter its consecrated plan and orientation, but was constrained to run new and more solid foundations for his heavier walls. He therefore contented himself with widening the area about 0.75 m. to the North, and, by slightly shifting the position of the two partition walls, re-distributing somewhat more equally the proportional relationships of the rooms to one another.[1] The old cappellaccio foundation walls he either left standing beside his new ones or used as footings. For the front foundation at the East he re-employed them. The Regia of this period is probably the latest in a series of buildings of the first half of the first century B. C. in which cappellaccio was revived as a foundation material.[2] The Regia seems to be the only one of the group the blocks of which are not still cut to the old standard cappellaccio measure. From the evidence of the quantities of Anio refuse used as filler between the new west wall of the north area and the wall of 148, of the Anio caementa in the later concrete of the little west concrete structure, and of the Anio cunei in the later reticulate of its south wall, as well as of the new paving of the west chamber of the south area, there is reason to believe that the superstructure was, at least in large part, of Anio.

[1] In the older building the proportions of the rooms from east to west were: 1: 1.74: 3.45. In the new building they were: 1: 1.38: 2.52.

[2] For this revival, see: SAEFLUND, *Le Mura di Roma Repubblicana*, 1932, 244-245.

To provide the additional space that the ever increasing religious and secular business of the pontifices demanded, the annex at the west end of the south area was constructed. The relatively steep slope of the ground toward the lowest point of the Forum required the placing of the annex floor at 1.60 m. or more below the level of the new Regia floor. Steps or a ramp, no doubt, led down to its south entrance from the level of the Regia proper. The bend of the street at the south-west corner of the Regia to come about parallel to the front of the Castor temple determined the slight angle of divergence between the annex front wall and the south wall of the Regia. The line of the Vicus Vestae passing about 13.50 m. west of the annex west wall no doubt similarly established its line. The annex room had originally two, if not three, doors. That at its south-east corner, next the south-west corner of the Regia proper, was evidently the principal entrance. Its existence is betrayed by the fact that the annex south foundations start at their divergent angle at 3.20 m. from the south-west corner of the Regia, but from the outer line of the Regia south foundations. The intervening space must have been occupied by a door lying on the line of the Regia south wall and not on that of the annex south wall. The peperino blocks now occupying the door space are due to the excavators of 1899. A second door broke the north reticulate wall of the room at the north-west corner. The east portion of this wall, originally faced off with tufa bricks — *cf.* for example, the door-jambs in the reticulate walls of the House of Livia — left a space of 1.85 m. between its termination and the annex west wall opposite. Here a narrow doorway must have given on the little concrete structure. The evidence for the third door is a cutting in the south end of the west side of the top travertine block of the annex west wall. It is a rectangular sinking 0.76 m. long, 0.32 m. wide, and 0.22 m. deep in the top outer edge of the block. In the bottom edge of this cutting, 0.22 m. from its south end is a smaller one 0.12 m. deep, 0.17-0.12 m. wide, and 0.10 m. high. The larger would be suitable for taking one end of a lintel, and the fact that the three travertine courses end flush at this point suggests a door. This doorway, if it existed, would have been an exceedingly low one, for the bottom of the cutting cannot have more than 1.80-1.90 m. from the floor. In any case the fragment of a lintel found built into a late continuation of this wall of the annex and bearing part of a dedication [IN] HONOREM DOMVS·AVGVSTAE· by the Kalatores Pontificum et Flaminum [1] cannot have spanned this door. Its dimensions do not accord with those of the cutting, and its length, when restored, of 3.40-3.50 m., presupposing a door of at least 3.00 m., is absolutely prohibitive. It is just possible that it might once have spanned the large south doorway of the annex. In the present state of the evidence there is no conclusive argument for identifying the annex with the Schola Kalatorum to which the lintel presumably appertained. [2]

[1] Probably of Trajan. *Cf. C.I.L.*, vi, 2184 and *Jb. Arch. I.*, iv, 1889, 232.

[2] As GATTI, *Not. Scavi*, 1899, 128, and *B. Com. Rom.*, 1899, 147, and BONI, *Atti del Congresso*, 1903, 523, do.

At the same time, the three standing courses of travertine of the annex west wall probably do not belong to the period which we are discussing but to that of 36 B. C. The blocks measure 0.62-0.74 m. high and 0.52-0.61 m. wide, the same as the travertine blocks of 36 B. C. in the Regia proper, with the distinction that the latter are laid with their longest sides flat, while the former are laid with their longest sides upright. The annex blocks rest on a bedding of mortar spread on the cappellaccio foundations in exactly the same way as the euthynteria blocks of 36. Moreover it is to be expected on analogy with the rest of the mid first century restoration that the annex walls would have been of Anio. The annex east wall too, which is also the west wall of the south area of the Regia, though only three blocks of it remain *in situ* at its north end, is clearly contemporary with the west wall. The three blocks, which rest on a bed of mortar imposed directly on the old first-period cappellaccio blocks on this line, exhibit the same measures as the annex west wall. These blocks, moreover, do not seem to have been laid when the south wall of the concrete structure was poured, for the slight gap where they meet at its east end is chinked with bits of broken brick set in mortar. Both these travertine walls, then, as they stand are probably of 36 B. C. The probable west doorway of the annex belongs, therefore, also to the reconstruction of 36, and was intended to replace the north door, blocked, as we have seen, in 36.

The annex when excavated was floored with a white mosaic bordered with black. Nothing of this is now to be seen, and no photographs or drawings are available. The extant descriptions of it are far too summary to be useful for dating. [1]

The purpose of the small concrete-walled area is dubious. It apparently afforded no clue to its various excavators, [2] and is now partially filled with earth. Any clue to its interpretation that might have been derived from its lower portions is now concealed. It can never have been closed on the west side. There is no trace of wall there. Its height of scarcely more than a meter in its early period makes it impossible that it could ever have been roofed. The fact, however, that its north-east walls in the early period reached the Monte Verde paving of the north area, and in the reconstruction of 36 were raised to the level of the paving of that period suggests an intimate relationship to the paving levels. The most likely hypothesis is that a flight of stairs was here introduced leading to a new west entrance to the north area. When the level of that area was raised, it became necessary to raise the height of the stair required to reach it. This hypothesis also

The other half of this lintel, *ap. C.I.L.*, vi, 900, was found in 1546 together with the fragments of the Fasti Capitolini. *Cf.* HUELSEN, *Berl. Philol. Wochenschr.*, 1899, 1533; *Roem. Mitt.*, xiv, 1899, 262-263; *Arch. Anz.*, 1900, 7-8; *Klio*, ii, 1902, 279. The blocks, *C.I.L.*, vi, 2184=31034, which undoubtedly came originally from the walls of the Schola Kalatorum are of marble. *Cf.* VON BILDT, *Roem. Mitt.*, xvi, 1901, 10-12.

[1] *Not. Scavi*, 1899, 120, 220; *B. Com. Rom.*, 1899, 147; *Atti del Congresso*, 1903, 523.

[2] See especially: JORDAN, *Roem. Mitt.*, i, 1886, 104; NICHOLS, *Archaeologia*, L, 1887, 229; *cf.* FRANK, *op. cit.*, 84.

provides a reason for the abandonment of the annex north door in 36. The earlier stair, with a total rise of about 1.00 m. and a total going of about 2.20 m., would have been comfortably arranged with 7 risers of roughly 0.143 m. and 7 treads of roughly 0.314 m. The stair of 36 had to reach 1.06 m. higher or a total rise of about 2.06 m. By blocking the north doorway and taking advantage of the maximum going thus obtained, the architect of 36 could build his stair with 14 risers of the same height as before and 14 treads of the not excessively diminished width of 0.27 m. Not the slightest trace of steps now remains, and the concrete walls have been stripped of the facing which might have borne traces of their former presence.

Nothing is left of the superstructure carried on the Grotta Oscura footings of the new west wall of the north area. Since it was merely a retaining wall, it may have been entirely constructed of Grotta Oscura like the early-Augustan retaining walls below the "Hut of Romulus" and along the Scalae Caci on the Palatine. In this case the Grotta Oscura would probably have been re-used from the demolished superstructure of the south area. It is perhaps more likely, however, that the wall was carried up above ground level in Anio like the south area. There is an instance of Caesarian Grotta Oscura footings for an Anio wall in the north-west foundations of the Basilica Julia. The north area itself seems to have remained entirely unaltered in this period. Along the bottom of the south side of the concrete bank of 36 B. C. supporting the marble base-block at the north-west corner of the area may be seen the imprint left by the concrete poured directly over the slabs of the Monte Verde paving. Not even a repaving had taken place between the Sullan period and 36.

An attempt to fix with precision the date of all these constructions is embarrassed by the dearth of available historical data. We have been able on strictly archaeological grounds to place them approximately within the years 55-36 B. C. and presumably in the earlier decade. This throws us into the last anarchic convulsions of the republic and the early years of Caesar's supremacy. No catastrophe is definitely reported to have damaged the Regia in this period. We know, however, that the 108th book of Livy contained an account of a disastrous fire which swept the city in 50 B. C.[1] Orosius, drawing on Livy's narrative, describes the conflagration as having been of unprecedented fury. It destroyed, according to him, 14 vici including the Vicus Iugarius.[2] There is no specific evidence that the flames reached the forum end of the Vicus, but there are also no grounds for denying the possibility. The date is just that which the monument itself would have led us to expect. Incendiary violence, in any case, testified almost daily to partizan zeal in those troubled years, and the Regia might have fallen victim to almost any of countless riots and counter-riots.

[1] Julius Obsequens, *Prod. Lib.*, 65; *cf.* Orosius, *Adv. Pag.*, vii, 2, 11.

[2] Orosius, *Adv. Pag.*, vi, 14, 4-5; vii, 2, 11; vii, 39, 15. Orosius actually dates the fire to the 700th year of the city. That he is really referring to the fire of 50 B. C. is shown by his reference to Livy and by the fact that 700 is merely a round number to illustrate his theory that history renews itself in cycles of 700 years.

On the 17th of July, 36 B. C., Cn. Domitius Calvinus celebrated a triumph after a successful proconsulate in Spain. At the instance of Octavian he spent the greater part of the coronary gold in sumptuously rebuilding the Regia, lately destroyed by fire.[1] The reconstruction of Calvinus, which embraced the whole Regia complex, has left numerous traces in all parts of the area. They consist of: 1) a number of foundation walls of deep pinkish-grey concrete, comprising the foundations for the entire east façade, for an inner north wall, for a spur wall at the northwest corner, and the later portions of the small concrete-walled structure on the west side; 2) bedding layers of the same concrete laid on previously existing walls, extant along the entire south side, along the two partition walls of the south section, along at least the east half of the north wall of the south section, along the east, west, and south walls of the west annex; 3) portions of euthynteria courses of travertine laid on this concrete, to wit, for most of the north and west walls of the east chamber of the south section (Pl. 6, Fig. 2), one block of the east façade (Pl. 6, Fig. 1), 3 blocks of the west wall of the south area, 3 blocks of the west wall of the west annex (Pl. 6, Fig. 3), 2 foundations for base-blocks in the north area; 4) portions of marble superstructure along the west wall of the east chamber of the south section (Pl. 6, Fig. 2; Pl. 8, Fig. 1), at the juncture of this wall with the north wall of the south section (Pl. 6, Fig. 2; Pl. 7, Fig. 2; Pl. 8, Fig. 4), on the travertine east façade block (Pl. 6, Fig. 1), beside the west wall base block of the north area (Pl. 7, Fig. 1), together with 2 marble base blocks in the north area (Pl. 7, Fig. 1; Pl. 8, Fig. 4); 5) sections of marble pavement in both north and south areas (Pl. 6, Fig. 1; Pl. 7, Fig. 2; Pl. 8, Fig. 1); 6) a flight of 3 travertine steps along the north side with the remains of a travertine foundation wall behind them (Pl. 8, Figs. 2, 3, 5).

The mortar of the concrete is of the same type as that of the later portions of the small west concrete structure discussed above.[2] The caementa consist almost entirely of the broken stone of former periods and vary considerably in different parts of the building. There is a general predominance of cappellaccio and Grotta Oscura. The concrete was recognized by both Van Deman and Frank as being clearly of 36 B. C.[3] The dimensions of the travertine blocks have already been commented on.[4] They are worked very close and fine with the rasp on all surfaces, and there is a fine lime grout in the joints, both vertical and horizontal.

The marble superstructure stands nowhere more than one course high.[5] The ordinary

[1] *Fasti Triumph. Cap.*, ann. 717; *Tab. Triumph. Barb.*; Dio Cass., xlviii, 42. For Octavian's part, see: Schoen, *Wiener Studien*, xxiv, 332 ff., and Pauly-Wissowa, vi, 2030 ff. *Cf.* Shipley, in *MAAR.*, ix, 1931, 21-23. The severity of the conflagration may be judged from the fact that the upper portions of the well at the northwest corner, filled in and covered over in the ensuing reconstruction, were found blackened by the flames and partially filled with fire-marked fragments of tufa: *Not. Scavi*, 1899, 221.

[2] See above, p. 78.

[3] *A.J.A.*, xvi, 1912, 391 f.; Frank, *op. cit.*, 81.

[4] See above, p. 81.

[5] Of the 5 courses held in place by the 4th or 5th century brickwork at the northwest corner of the east chamber of the south section (Pl. 7, Figs. 2, 3), the upper 4 are clearly re-used blocks set up in the 4th or 5th century.

wall blocks are 0.44-0.465 m. thick and 0.52-0.55 m. high. They are of white or greyish Carrara marble, accurately laid together without dowels or cramps. Their interior faces were worked to a high finish. The exterior faces were left rather roughly pointed to receive a rendering of fine white lime plaster, traces of which are everywhere apparent.

In the center of the west wall of the east chamber of the south section are the sill and the bottoms of the jambs of a doorway 1.48 m. wide between the jambs (Pl. 8, Fig. 1). The jamb blocks, 0.60 m. long and 0.24 m. wide, broken off almost at sill level, are dowelled to their travertine foundation with iron dowels 0.02 m. square. Each is cut with a rectangular socket 0.13 m. × 0.08 m. for the cardines of the doors. Flush with these sockets the sill is stepped up 0.04 m. The west end of the adjacent block of the north wall of the south section is cut as the base for the jamb of a door opening from the middle chamber of the south section into the north area (Pl. 7, Fig. 2). The bottom of its west face is slotted to receive the cramp of the missing sill block, while the top is recessed 0.05 m. and socketted for the cardo of the door. On the remaining travertine euthynteria block of the east façade rests the badly weathered base of the south jamb of a third doorway (Pl. 6, Fig. 1). It is cut with a rectangular hinge-socket 0.18 × 0.145 m., and shows the start of a simple framing moulding.

The two marble base blocks are respectively at the north-west and south-east inner corners of the north area. The former (Pl. 7, Fig. 1), 1.35 m. × 1.37 m. square and 0.24 m. thick, rests on a bedding layer of concrete 0.12-0.13 m. thick laid on 2 travertine foundation blocks. Its north, east, and south sides are cut to receive the adjacent slabs of paving. At 0.15-0.23 m. in from its southwest and northeast corners are pry-holes. The north half of its west side is cut back 0.025-0.03 m. to receive a marble wall block resting on a travertine block. Along the remainder of its west edge is a shallow sinking 0.02 m. deep, 0.70 m. long, and 0.11-0.14 m. wide. The adjacent wall block and its travertine foundation are broken off at their north ends. Its south end is finished smooth down to a rough diagonal 0.34-0.27 from its top. Just above this line a bit of concrete still adheres to the smoothed surface. The other base block (Pl. 8, Fig. 4), 1.32 m. × 1.35 m. on a side and 0.34 m. thick, rests directly on 2 travertine foundation blocks. It is not square, since its south side is cut to the line of the north wall of the south area. All four sides are cut to receive the adjacent paving slabs. Pry-holes, as in the northwest block, appear near its northeast and southwest corners, with between them a circular unweathered area 0.94 m. in diameter.

The slabs of the marble paving are 0.10-0.12 m. thick and rest upon a fill of clean earth and spalls from the working of the marble. In the north area they are from 1.14 m. to 1.22 m. wide, and are laid in rows parallel to the east façade and to the 2 base blocks. In the south area the single complete width of slab is short of the normal width by some 0.40 m., which is taken up by the inward projection of the door sill. Large sections of this paving in the west chamber were removed during the excavations of 1899. From their

positions as indicated on the plans of Jordan and Nichols [1] it appears that each of the partition walls was bordered by a single row of slabs parallel to it, while the remainder of the slabs were laid in rows parallel to the north and south walls. Wherever the paving slabs abutted against a wall or base the latter was regularly cut back from 0.015 to 0.10 m. to receive it.

The north flight of travertine steps (Pl. 8, Fig. 2) consists of three rows of travertine blocks, from bottom to top 0.70 m., 0.77 m., and 0.67 m. wide and 0.30 m., 0.32 m., and 0.31 m. high, resting one upon the other so as to form 3 steps, from bottom to top 0.60 m., 0.28 m., and 0.67 m. wide. At their east end (Pl. 8, Fig. 3) the two upper steps fit into a travertine base block, 1.06 m. × 0.91 m. on a side and 0.58 m. high, cut to receive them. Apparently no similar base block ever existed at the west end, where the steps were simply finished off flush. They are supported on a fill of extremely friable ashen grey concrete, hardly more durable than a fill of earth. It is evident from the condition of the top step that there was originally a fourth. All three steps are much worn with use, but on the top step the wearing extends only to a line 0.22 m. from its inner edge, beyond which the stone is fresh and scarcely weathered. This space, therefore, was originally covered by a fourth step, carrying the entire flight another 0.30-0.32 m. higher and leaving the third step 0.45 m. wide. There can be no doubt that the steps are Calvinian. They rise directly from the new Augustan Sacra Via. [2] The Sacra Via of the third century, as shown by blocks of it preserved at the west end of the steps (Pl. 8, Fig. 5), was 0.90 m. higher, at the level of the top step. [3]

Eight blocks of the lowest course of the travertine foundation wall behind the steps remain. They are of the same dimensions as the other travertine blocks in the building. Originally the wall must have extended about 4.50 m. farther west and have been at least 3 courses high. The missing blocks were, no doubt, extracted to serve as building material during the operations of 1546.

From these remains we can reconstruct with a fair show of accuracy the plan and character of the building of Calvinus. In most of the south section the dimensions of the previous period were retained. The old foundations of large cappellaccio blocks were reused, and from them rose the walls of white marble on their travertine euthynteria course. Only the line of the east façade was changed. A straight foundation was thrown across the entire front of the building, obliterating the old obtuse angle at the junction of the walls of the north and south areas. The presence of a door in the north part of the new façade indicates that this portion of it was a solid wall. It is probable, however, that the

[1] *Roem. Mitt.*, i, 1886, pl. v; *Archaeologia*, L, pt. 1, fig. 1 and p. 232; dotted in on our Plate 4.

[2] For the Augustan Sacra Via, see: *Not. Scavi*, 1899, 265; *Cl. Rev.*, xiii, 1899, 467; xiv, 1900, 239. *Cf.* Van Deman, *J.R.S.*, xii, 1922, 2; *A.J.A.*, xxix, 1925, 384-386, 399-402.

[3] *Cf. Not. Scavi*, 1878, 341; 1882, 219-220.

east division of the south section was treated as a porch, distyle *in antis* and that the south part of the façade foundation carried the antae and 2 columns. Such, at least, is the most likely deduction from the fact that the east faces of the marble wall blocks of the west wall of the east division are treated as exterior faces, *i. e.*, prepared for a plaster rendering. The north wall of this division originally extended as far as the façade line, as the travertine euthynteria blocks and the south termination of a fragment of marble paving originally adjacent show. The south end of the concrete façade foundation, moreover, widens to terminate in a square base, as though for an anta. Corresponding to the doorway between the porch and the middle division, there must have been another between the middle and west chambers. We have already seen that from the middle chamber a doorway gave on the north area. The level of the interior paving was raised 0.70 m. by a fill of earth and marble spalls. The level of the area between the south wall of the Regia and the precinct of Vesta underwent a corresponding rise.

The annex at the west end of the south section was more radically altered. On its old cappellaccio foundations was laid a bedding of concrete from which rose walls of travertine 3 courses high, the top of the upper course being level with the tops of the travertine courses of the Regia proper. The room thus formed was treated as a low cellar, with a depressed barrel vault of concrete. The vault sprang about 1.30 m. from the floor, from the top of the second course. The cuttings from which it sprang are still visible on either side with bits of the vaulting concrete in place (Pl. 6, Fig. 3). Since this vault must have been designed to carry the floor of an upper chamber level with the floor of the Regia proper, requiring a rise from springing to crown of about 0.80 m., it was considerably depressed from the semicircular. Even over the narrowest portion of the annex a semicircular vault would have had a total rise of 1.30-1.40 m. Above the cellar would have risen the marble-walled annex proper, entered at ground level from the area between the Regia and the precinct of Vesta. Steps would have led down to the entrance to the cellar directly under the one above.

Just as he had given the Regia a new east façade, so the architect of Calvinus was able to throw up a new north one. The shifting of the Sacra Via slightly northward, in consequence of the construction of the temple of Divus Julius, eliminated the necessity for the unsightly angle in the north wall of the Regia.[1] The travertine foundation wall behind the north steps must have carried a solid marble façade all along the north side, approached by the four steps of travertine. There is no clue to the position of the door or doors which must have broken this wall. The east wall of the north section was, as we have seen, a solid wall, pierced by a door. The east and north walls met at the northeast corner in an obtuse angle behind the travertine base block at the east end of the steps.

[1] See above, pp. 2-3.

The greater part of the west wall of the north area was carried on the old Grotta Oscura foundation wall of 148 B. C.[1] The extreme northern portion was carried on the concrete foundation wall at the northwest corner. The south end of this portion of the wall is represented by the marble wall block beside the northwest corner base block. The juncture between these south and north portions appears to have been joggled in a curious way. The inner concrete foundation wall continues west of the northwest base block at right angles to the north portion of the west wall to meet the old Grotta Oscura foundation in an obtuse angle. This continuation evidently carried the 1.47 m. of marble wall necessary to join the two portions of the west wall. It is difficult to explain this peculiar arrangement, but it is the only one indicated by the existing remains. The south end of the north area west wall was interrupted by the concrete walled structure which, as we have seen,[2] probably contained a flight of stairs leading from the area between the Regia and the Temple of Divus Julius.

The two marble base blocks furnish the evidence to show that the interior of this area was treated as an *atrium tetrastylum*. The pry-holes in each, taken together with the circular marking remaining on the southeastern one, testify that both supported column-bases. The position of a third, northeastern base block is indicated by the termination of the concrete inner foundation at this point on the line of the west edge of the southeast base block and by the thrusting back here of 3 or 4 of the old first period cappellaccio blocks to make way for its foundations. The location of the fourth can only be ascertained from the two extant blocks. Doubtless all four stood in the corners of a rectangle determined by the production of their exterior sides. So determined the fourth base block would have stood between the large cistern and the peperino-lined well near the south-west corner of the area. There are no traces of it at this point, and perhaps it stood somewhat more to the southwest in some relation to an otherwise inexplicable extension of the north end of the east concrete wall of the little concrete-walled structure. All trace of the impluvium which occupied the center of the open rectangle has vanished, but the large drain which conducted its waste water to the great sewer beneath the Sacra Via still exists. 0.46-0.47 m. high and 0.35-0.36 m. wide, it is of concrete faced on the sides with broken tiles and roofed with bipedales. From a point midway between the two east bases and about 4.00 m. west of them it flows east for about 6.00 m. to empty into a long rectangular tile-faced catch basin in the east section of the area, which in turn communicates with the Sacra Via sewer.

The eastern end of the north area was, as before, a separate chamber, open on the west side to the atrium, with a door in its east wall. The paving of the entire area, on a level with that of the south section, was 1.10-1.20 m. higher than the old Monte Verde paving.

[1] See above, pp. 72-73.

[2] See above, pp. 81-82.

Like that of the south section it rested on a fill of earth and marble spalls. The function of the inner foundation wall of concrete is not apparent. It is possible that there may have been an intermediate column or columns of which no trace remains on the long sides of the compluvium rectangle, making it rather a peristyle or *Atrium Corinthium*. Again the foundation may merely have supported a balustrade or a row of statues or altars. The concrete bank which partly encircles the old well at the north-west corner seems only explicable as an altar or statue base. The sinking along the west edge of the north-west base block together with the bit of concrete adhering to the surface of the wall block adjacent seems to imply a large marble-revetted concrete base of some sort. A detached fragment of concrete near the northeast corner of the west chamber of the south section is only susceptible of a similar explanation. No doubt the travertine base block at the east end of the north steps supported one of the many statues said to have stood in the Regia area.[1]

The achievement of the architect of Calvinus can only be estimated by a consideration of the conditions under which he worked. The rebuilding of the Regia in 36 B. C. at the express command of Octavian gave it an integral position among his great works in the Forum. It assumed a part in that great systematic scheme of reorganization which aimed to give at least a semblance of unity and balance to the heterogeneous jumble of buildings that composed the republican forum. It was one with the re-routing and re-paving of the forum streets, the re-paving of the forum area, the erection of the arches of Augustus, the temple of Divus Julius, and the rostra, the completion of the Basilica Julia, the reconstruction of the Basilica Aemilia. In the total scheme the Regia had somewhat a key position, standing as it did before and between the twin entrances to the Forum.

The architect's attempts to produce a seemly structure were conditioned both by the ancient sanctity of the spot and by the nature of the previous structures on the site. The one he was compelled reverently to respect, the other to turn to his own uses wherever possible. His greatest task was to coerce the rambling structure into a semblance of architectural unity, to give it co-ordinate and external dignity and appropriateness without violating the character, position, or interrelation of its various parts, hallowed by religion and time. This he accomplished by masking the building's essentially irregular disunity by unified façades on the three exposed sides. He imposed a semblance of unity on the north area with his rectangular compluvium, the orientation of which approximately preserved the line of the west part of the old north area outer wall, while it corresponded with his new east façade.

[1] Pliny, *N. H.*, xxxiv, 48; Dio Cassius, xlviii, 42.

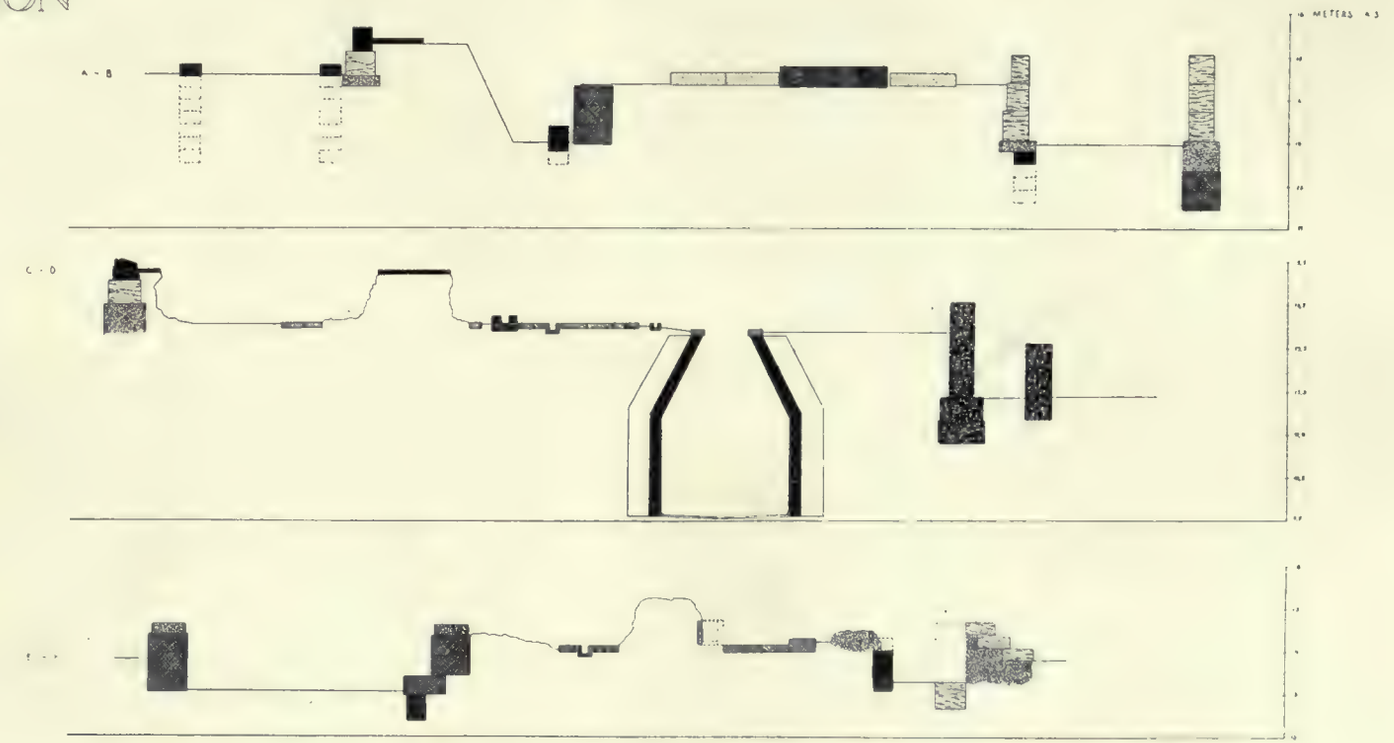
THE REGIA
IN THE
ROMAN FORVM
PLAN ACTVAL STATE

METERS

- POST - CALVINIAN
- ANIO
- TRAVERTINE
- PEPERINO
- CONCRETE
- MONTEVERDE
- CAPPELLACCIO II°
- CAPPELLACCIO I°
- GROTTA OSCVRA
- MARBLE

PLATE 4.

THE REGIA
IN THE
ROMAN FORVM
SCHEMATIC SECTION



ANIO
TRAVERTINE
CONCRETE
MONTEVERDE
CAPPELLACCIO II°
CAPPELLACCIO I°
GROTTA OSCVRA
MARBLE

PLATE 5.

Fig. 1, see pp. 83, 84.

Fig. 2, see p. 83.

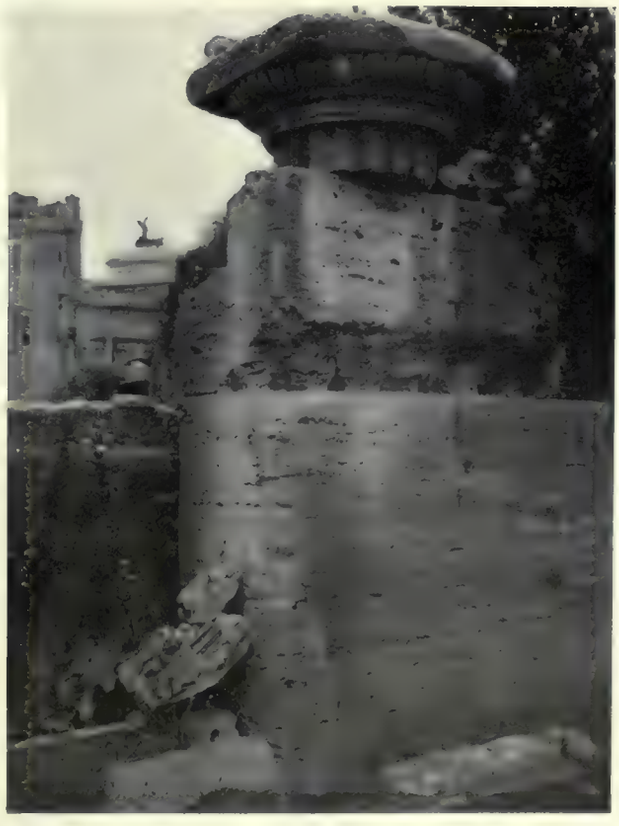


Fig. 3, see pp. 83, 86.

Fig. 1, see pp. 83, 84.

Fig. 2, see pp. 83, 84.

Fig. 1, see pp. 83, 84.

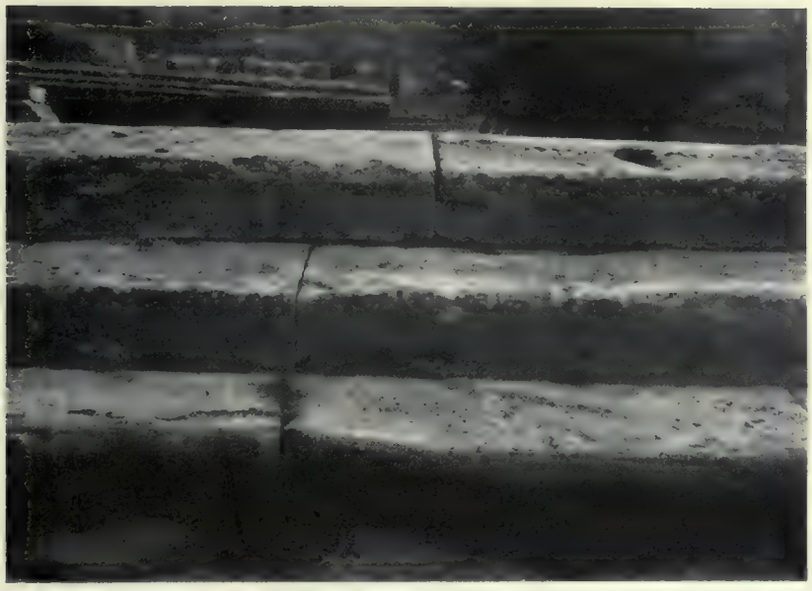


Fig. 2, see pp. 83, 85.

Fig. 3, see pp. 83, 85.

Fig. 4, see pp. 83, 84.

Fig. 5, see pp. 83, 85.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE FOR THE "TUSCAN TEMPLE"

AGNES KIRSOPP LAKE

(TABLE OPPOSITE PAGE 136; PLATES 9, 10)

INTRODUCTION

THE early temples of Italy, which form the prelude to the great architecture of Rome, are usually passed over in a brief introductory paragraph, or discussed for the sake of their terra-cotta revetments.[1] The comparatively scanty material evidence for their ground plans is supplemented by Vitruvius' section on the Tuscan temple, in which he gives a formula for its proportions.[2] This description is of extraordinary interest, since it is the only one of a technical nature in the extant literature. It has however in some ways exerted an unfortunate influence upon the study of the subject. Vitruvius presents as typically "Tuscan" a temple with three cellae, and does not mention any other type which can be attributed to native Italic architecture. This has led to the placing of excessive emphasis on the occurrence of the triple-cella temple to the neglect of other types which are equally common in Italy. This article will deal chiefly with the triple-cella type as it is represented in the archaeological evidence, but the subject cannot be treated to the best advantage without taking into consideration different but contemporary types.

The influence of Vitruvius has also resulted in a tendency to interpret the material remains to fit the requirements of his formula, instead of comparing such evidence with the doctrine of Vitruvius. This tendency was natural at first when only one or two very fragmentary temples were known, but, in view of the fresh evidence afforded by successive discoveries, there is no longer any reason to perpetuate the method. It is now less profitable to point out how closely the measurements of the temples agree with the formula, than to indicate in which particulars they vary from it, and the deductions which

[1] On these see E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN, *Figurative Terra-cotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium in the VI. and V. Centuries B. C.*, London, 1921: A. DELLA SETA, *Museo di Villa Giulia*, i, Rome, 1918.

[2] iv, 7.

can be drawn from such variations. Some of the temples which are only partially preserved have in the past been reconstructed by applying the rules of the Vitruvian formula to the measurements which actually existed. There are now, however, a number of temples which can be reconstructed from internal evidence without any such aid. In chapters I and II I shall endeavor to collect the evidence which can be obtained from these temples without using the formula as an aid to their reconstruction. In the concluding chapter I shall attempt to compare this evidence with the rules given by Vitruvius. In this way it may be possible to come to some conclusion as to the relation of his precepts to the facts, and as to the value of the formula for purposes of reconstruction.

In the literature devoted to the early temples of Italy, as far as I know, only one work has been devoted to the characteristics of the early temples other than their decorations. This is H. Degering's article "*Über Etruskischen Tempelbau*".[1] He deals with the plans, particularly those of the triple-cella type, but the value of his work is considerably lessened by the fact that it was written when there was very little material available. Moreover Degering is throughout trying to prove his thesis of the development of the Etruscan temple rather than to state the evidence. In recent years P. Ducati has compiled a list of temples of the triple-cella type,[2] but his chief interest in this article is in the place of triads in Etruscan religion. Hence the discussion of the temples is brief, and in some cases fails to use all the evidence. Robertson in an appendix to his "*History of Greek and Roman Architecture*"[3] gives a list of "Temples in the Etruscan Latin Tradition to 150 B.C.", but it is not intended to be more than a selection. The publications of individual temples have cited examples of similar types and are sometimes very helpful, but never cover the whole field. Delbrück's books "*Das Capitolium von Signia*" and "*Die Drei Tempel am Forum Holitorium*" contain much valuable material and many very interesting suggestions, of which many are confirmed by evidence which has come to light subsequently. These works however were published thirty years ago, and there is need for addition to the material.

Before discussing each triple-cella temple in detail we must consider carefully the formula given by Vitruvius, since, although we shall not use it, it has in several cases formed the basis for the reconstruction of the temples with which we shall deal. In the book which he devotes to the construction of temples Vitruvius describes first the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian styles and then gives a short chapter on the Tuscan order. The passage reads:[4] *....Locus in quo aedis constituetur cum habuerit in longitudine sex partes, una dempta reliquum quod erit, latitudini detur. longitudo autem dividatur bipertito, et quae pars*

[1] *Nachr. von der Kön. Ges. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, 1897, 137-174.

[2] *Contributo allo Studio dell'Arce Etrusca di Marzabotto, Atti e Memorie della R Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie di Romagna*, Serie IV, xiii, 69-106.

[3] Appendix I, F, 336.

[4] iv, 6, 6 to 7, 2.

erit interior, cellarum spatiis designetur, quae erit proxima fronti, columnarum dispositioni relinquatur. item latitudo dividatur in partes x. ex his ternae partes dextra ac sinistra cellis minoribus, sive ibi alae futurae sunt, dentur; reliquae quattuor mediae aedi attribuantur. spatium quod erit ante cellas in pronao, ita columnis designetur, ut angulares contra antas, parietum extremorum <e> regione, conlocentur; duae mediae e regione parietum, qui inter antas et mediam aedem fuerint, ita distribuantur; et inter antas et columnas priores per medium isdem regionibus alterae disponantur.... Reduced to its simplest terms the formula requires a temple whose breadth is to its length as 5:6, and which is divided into a cella and pronaos of more or less equal lengths. The cella is to be divided into three latitudinal parts, the central division to occupy four-tenths of the breadth and each side division three-tenths. These side divisions are to be either smaller cellae or "*alae*". The exact nature of an "*ala*" is not made clear by Vitruvius, and there is very little evidence to be found elsewhere on the subject. The only other place in which Vitruvius uses the word is in describing the rooms which open off the atrium of the Roman house at right angles to the tablinum. The peculiar feature of these rooms is that they are open all across the front. It is often assumed that Vitruvius uses the word in the case of temples as equivalent to *pteroma* to mean a colonnade around the cella. This interpretation is applied to a type of temple commonly found, in which the cella occupies only part of the total width of the podium and is flanked by columns. In these temples the back wall of the cella projects beyond its side walls and either ends in an anta or, more often, forms a re-entering angle and continues a short distance along the side of the podium, thus forming a small room, open across the front, at the end of the colonnade. The resulting plan is often described as the "Italic plan", although strictly speaking it deserves the title no more than some other types. For the sake of brevity I shall keep this name in the present discussion. The "*ala*" has also been interpreted as a room exactly like a side cella except that it had no front wall. There is however no example of such a type.

The whole question of the interpretation of the "*ala*" is complicated by the uncertain reading of the text. The manuscripts actually have in this passage: *sive ibi aliae futurae sunt.* It seems impossible to find any reasonable meaning for such a reading, and it has always been emended to read "*alae*". The uncertainty however makes it possible for other readings to be suggested, which are usually not satisfactory. Degering proposes to read: *et si quae ibi alae* instead of: *sive ibi alae*, thus making it possible to have both side cellae and alae in the same temple. He would interpret the ala as an alcove, like the alae in the house, opening off the main cella behind the side cellae, which would have only half the normal depth. The plan thus produced resembles the relation between alae and tablinum in the house, but ignores the existence of the other rooms which are an integral part of the house plan (see Fig. 6, p. 116). There is no example of such a plan, in any known temple, and the emendation is on the whole too difficult to be accepted.

The word *ala* is used in two inscriptions. In one from the district of the Vestini, it refers to part of a shrine: *C. Faesasius T. [f.] P. Appaedius P. f. Aquila cur. fan. porticum alam d. pag. s. f. c. idq. p.* [1] In this case, as Degering points out, we cannot assume that *ala* means a colonnade when it is used in conjunction with the word *porticus*. From the sanctuary of Diana at Nemi we have an inscription which says: *M. Servilius Quartus alam expolit et* [....] *et quae intus posita sunt Dia-* [....]. [2] The inscription was executed in the mosaic floor of a small chamber occupying a section of a portico; instead of a front wall this had two columns between antae; in the side intercolumniations there was a marble parapet, set in a stone threshold; in the central opening there was a door. [3] In a gloss the word is actually equated with ἐξέδρα. [4] The one characteristic which all the examples have in common is the open front. It is obvious from the cases that I have cited that *ala* cannot mean a colonnade. The only other feature to which it can refer in the passage from Vitruvius is the little room formed by the back wall of the cella which is also open across the front and thus agrees with the other examples. We may then define an *ala* as a single room, the characteristic feature of which is an open front. This explanation of the term is consistent with Vitruvius' statement that the ala could be substituted for the side cella.

Having discussed the formula and its possible interpretations we must proceed to the consideration of the temples which have at one time or another been published as examples of the triple-cella type, and attempt to discover their relation to the conditions of the formula.

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[1] *C.I.L.*, ix, 3523.
[2] *C.I.L.*, xiv, 4183.
[3] *Not. Scavi*, 1885, 317-320; L. Morpurgo, *Mon. Ant.*, xiii, 1903, 309 f.
[4] *Gloss.*, ii, 14, 18.

I.

THE TRIPLE-CELLA TEMPLES

FLORENCE

In 1893, when extensive alterations were being carried out in the center of Florence, now occupied by the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, the vestiges of various ancient buildings were discovered. These were discussed by Milani in a report which unfortunately for our present purpose dealt more with the architectural fragments than with the traces of walls.[1] This is all the more to be regretted since the subsequent destruction of these remains makes it impossible to control his statements. The building which concerns us here was evidently a temple, which Milani identified as the Capitolium. The main outlines of the temple are fairly clear on Milani's plan. It faced due east and was divided into back and front by a central cross wall. The back half was divided by smaller longitudinal cross walls into three parallel chambers. The construction was, however, unusual, for every wall, except one, was double. There was an outer wall of concrete and an inner one composed of two faces of cut stone set in mortar, and an inner filling of uncut stones laid in packed earth. This latter is a peculiar method of construction and occurs very rarely in the monuments treated in this discussion. The concrete was very thick, for the external concrete wall measured 3.30 m. in width, and the internal ones measured from 1.10 to 1.30 m. The concrete walls were placed against the walls of the other type of construction, those in the interior breaking through them where it was absolutely necessary. The external stone walls were 2.30 m. wide, while the internal ones ranged from 1.60 to 0.60 m. It is clear that there are here two periods.

From the arrangement of the cellae it is plainly seen that these structures are examples of the triple-cella type. The south-west corner of the west cella was missing, but I think we can safely restore it to match the east cella. The same plan is carried out, generally speaking, in both periods of construction.

It is almost self-evident that of the two periods of construction here, the concrete is the later.[2] Not only its superiority as a building material, but its general relation to the other walls indicates that it was due to a reconstruction of an earlier building which involved incorporating the old walls, instead of razing them and beginning anew. The Roman reverence for a consecrated temple made this a common practice in rebuilding.

[1] *Reliquie di Firenze Antica, Mon. Ant.*, vi, 1895, 15-72.

[2] Degering (*op. cit.*, 163) has used as proof of this the fact that in the concrete there could be seen the traces of the blocks of the earlier wall. This does not however prove it, for the walls might have been built simultaneously as Milani believed, and still leave the same marks, owing to the way in which the concrete would have been laid.

The temple of the later, concrete period is a square, measuring 26.25 m. on a side.[1] The central cross wall divides it into a cella 13.70 m. deep and a pronaos 12.55 m. The side cellae, measured from the inner faces of their walls, are 5.26 m. wide and the central one is 6.50 m. Their longitudinal dividing walls are 1.30 m. thick. At the back of the side cellae are rooms 1.20 m. deep cut off by a wall 1 m. thick. The temple must have been prostyle, hexastyle with three columns at the side of the pronaos, and an intercolumniation of 3.80 m. The superstructure was doubtless of stone, probably including the fragments which Milani published as coming from the temple.

The earlier period presents several problems. The first one is the position of the front wall. We should expect to find it behind the concrete front wall, as all the other walls are related in this way. It has however completely disappeared, and the ends of the side walls are also missing, so that we can conclude nothing from their position. There is, as far as I can see, no external evidence in the actual walls that can be used to determine the position of the original front wall. Degering states, without citing any evidence of weight, that the first wall occupied the same place as the later concrete one, but he says immediately afterwards that the length of the temple is about 24.50 m.[2] According to Milani's plan, however, if he placed the wall in the position he assumes, the length would be almost exactly 23 m. He apparently derived the length which he gives from the fact that the proportion of the width of the side cella to that of the central cella is 4:5. He proves earlier in his article that when this is so, the length of the whole temple must be to its breadth in the proportion of 16:13. This would give a length of about 24.50, as Milani's plan gives a width of *ca.* 20 m. Since, however, the length does not check with Milani's other measurement, I do not think we need to accept Degering's statement on this point, and we may feel at liberty to place the front wall in the position which seems best to us. If we place it immediately behind the concrete we find that we have a temple which measures from 19.60 m. to 20 m. in width and almost exactly 20.60 m. in length. We have already seen that the later temple was square, and it seems reasonable to suppose that the earlier one was also nearly square. It is customary to find that the later phases of temples have more elongated proportions than the earlier ones. We may then argue that where we find a plan of the later period square it probably represents the preservation of the older form rather than a modification. Remembering also in the present instance the position of the other first period walls, we may assume that the earlier front wall lay

[1] Omitting the 3.30 m. projection of the side wall beyond the front one on each side: I assume these served to flank steps. The figures here and below were obtained by calculation based either on the few measurements supplied by Milani or on the evidence of the plan.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 164. His evidence is drawn from the way in which the concrete wall is founded and from the absence of the ends of the side walls. He cites for the former Milani's statement, *op. cit.*, 27: "*Il getto di smalto traversale, destinato a sostenere il frontone del tempio, andava a poggiare sul banco di ghiaia, mentre tutti gli altri getti e le sostruzioni a filaretto erano fondate, come d'ordinario, sul banco di rena*". I fail to see that either piece of evidence has any significance for the problem.

immediately behind the later one. There results a cella 11.95 m. long and a pronaos 8.70 m. long. The side walls of the central cella are .90 m. thick and the cella is 4.90 m. wide. At the back a room only 1.20 m. deep is cut off from the main cella by a wall

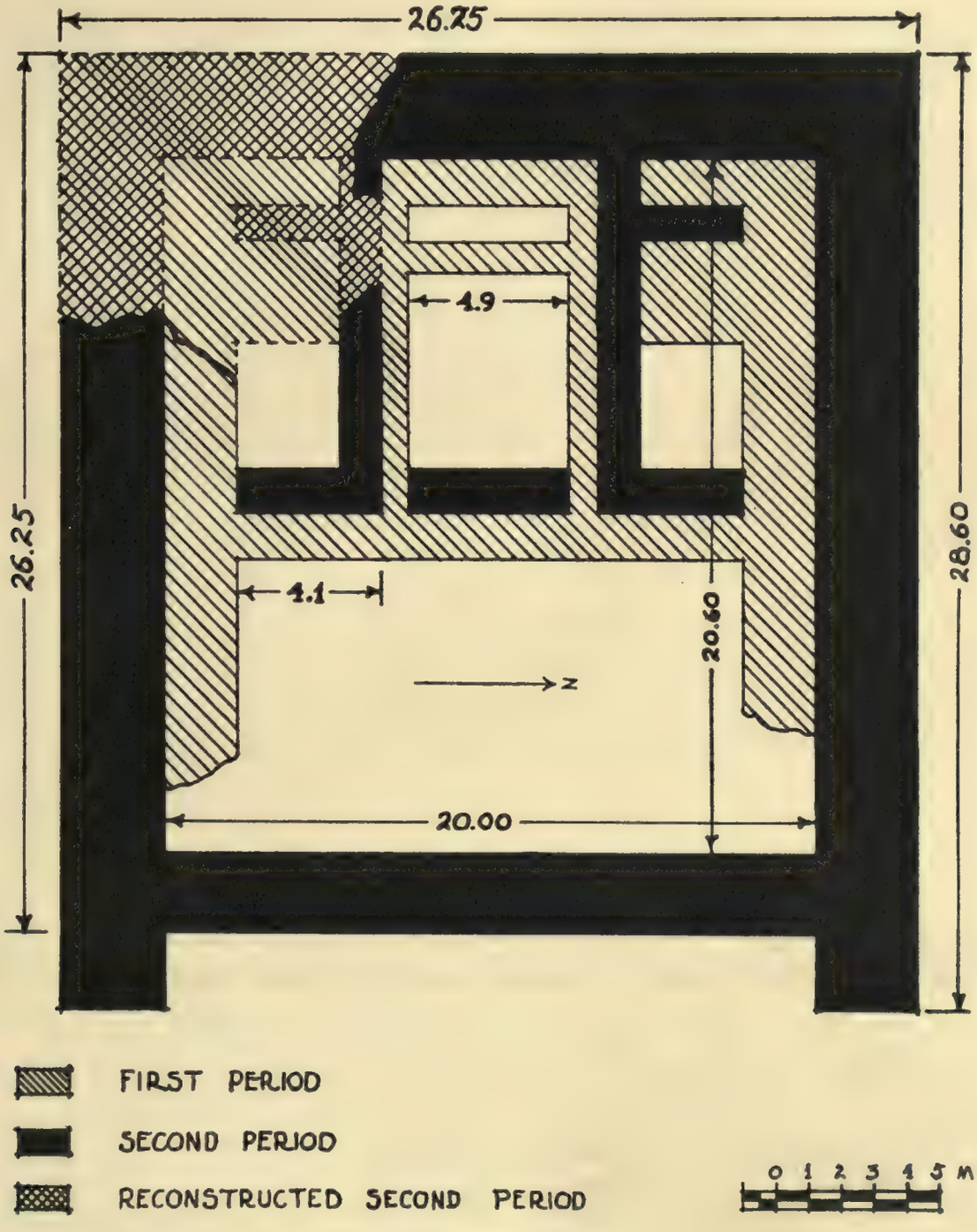

Fig. 1. Temple at Florence
Based on plan given by Milani, *Mon. Ant.*, vi, 1895, col. 18, fig. 13.

.60 m. thick leaving a length of 7.20 m. for the cella. The side cellae are about 4.15 m. wide. The peculiar feature of the side cellae however is their length. In the right side cella we find that this is only 5 m. (As the back part of the left cella is missing, we are forced to accept the measurements of the right one for both.) Behind this point there

is a wall 3.10 m. thick. This leaves a gap of 1.10 m. before the back wall is reached which is filled in by the later concrete. There probably was here a narrow room such as there is behind the central cella.

This extraordinarily thick wall behind the side cella presents the characteristic feature and also the most puzzling question in the reconstruction of the Florentine temple. Degering solves this problem by assuming that Milani made a mistake in the plan and that the wall was really only the normal width, while the space between it and the back wall was filled in with débris which Milani mistook for solid wall. He then restores a room behind the main side cella which he calls an "*ala*".[1] This he does in order to support his theory that the "*ala*" and side cella indicated by Vitruvius were not mutually exclusive. I do not feel that such an interpretation of the evidence is justified. We must find some other solution.

The excessive thickness of the wall indicates that it was intended to carry a considerable and concentrated weight, which might be excessive for the packed earth that would normally fill in the floor of the cella. What great weight do we naturally expect to find thus situated at the back of the cella? Obviously the cult image. We know that in Greek temples one often finds a strong foundation where the image stood, and we see the same feature in the temple of Magna Mater on the Palatine. We shall discuss later an arrangement in the Capitolium at Pompeii which seems to me to be similar. (See page 134). That this wall was the foundation for the base of a large and heavy cult image is a far simpler and more natural explanation than the addition of an unnecessary room. One may, however, ask, if this was so in the side cella, why is the same feature omitted in the central one? We see there only the small back passage. This is a feature which occurs in other temples[2] and is interpreted as having contained a staircase to a higher level. At Pompeii it is certain that the cult statues stood on a very high podium, the top of which could not be reached from the floor, so that we may conclude that the stair led to the top of this podium. In all probability then, the cult image in the central cella was raised to a high level. How was this done so that it did not necessitate a foundation? In the temple at Gabii it is clear that there was a shrine at the rear on which the god's image probably stood. This was constructed by means of beams set in the wall, so as to form a sort of platform. The space below this was shut off from the main cella by a grill set in a stone threshold.[3] Again at Signia, the temple shows a similar arrangement about 3.50 m. high which I imagine served in the same way as a pedestal for a statue while at the same time providing a safe deposit for temple treasure in the space below. Here too, there is no sign of a solid foundation.[4] If, then, it is assumed that at Florence there

[1] *Op. cit.*, 161-164.

[2] *E. g.* the Capitolium at Pompeii, the temple of Magna Mater on the Palatine.

[3] DELBRÜCK, *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium*, 1907, 1912, ii, 8. Delbrück thinks that the cult statue stood inside the shrine, but I doubt this.

[4] DELBRÜCK, *Das Capitolium von Signia*, 5.

was a similar structure, supported by beams set in the walls, which thus supported all the weight of the cult image, it becomes clear why it was not necessary to construct a solid foundation as in the side cellae. Moreover, if we accept Milani's identification of this temple as the Capitolium of Florence, we see another factor in the situation. Many representations of the Capitoline Triad show Jupiter as seated and the two goddesses standing.[1] Thus if Jupiter was represented by a seated statue, not of solid stone but of terra-cotta or in acrolithic technique, this could have been placed above the level of the floor on a platform constructed as I have described, while the standing goddesses, for economy of space, would have had to be placed at a lower level and their bases would have rested immediately upon the floor.

The identification of the cult seems almost certain. Mediaeval chronicles preserve references to the Capitolium of Florence, while the church of Santa Maria in Campidoglio and the Vicolo del Campidoglio, in the immediate vicinity of the temple, give the location. This, combined with the nearness to what was doubtless the main *piazza* of the city — in those days — and the appropriateness of the form, makes an almost perfect case for the affirmative.

The dating of the two periods of construction is a more difficult matter. Milani, taking the two periods as one, dates the whole building by the evidence of the concrete construction. From the character of the architectural fragments, as well as the inherent probability of the situation, he considers it the work of the colonists of Sulla. This is possible, but it seems to me a trifle early for the use of the Luna marble of which most of the fragments consist. Milani also considered that the closest similarity with the capital which was found here is afforded by one from the temple of Mars Ultor. He fancied that the building of the Capitolium at the date proposed by him was a reflection of the restoration of the one at Rome which was completed in 69 B.C. It seems possible, however, that it might have been executed also in the Augustan period, when there was another restoration of the Roman Capitolium, though not such an extensive one.[2] As there is no further evidence, the question cannot be settled any more definitely than this.

The dating of the earlier period is, of course, to some extent dependent on that of the later one. We must place it earlier and, judging from the crudity of its construction, as far back as possible. The exact nature of the technique is of very little aid in this regard. I know of no other example in Italy with which to compare it. The nearest approach is the system used at Marzabotto, in the altar D, where there is a facing of stone, then a layer of rubble, and then the centre is filled in with earth.[3] The two cases however are somewhat different, as the altar is a solid mass and small enough not to need cross walls. Perhaps the builders of Marzabotto who evolved the technique of the altar, if

[1] See Appendix I.
[2] *Mon. Anc.*, 4, 9.
[3] See GOZZADINI, *Di un'antica necropoli a Marzabotto*, 1865, 22, pl. 6; and below, p. 145.

they had required cross walls, would have applied another facing to the interior of the rubble. Because of the improvement in technique in the altar compared with that of the early temple at Marzabotto, which cannot be dated earlier than the V. century, I should assign the altar to the IV. century. I should have liked to consider the Florentine temple equally early, but the stones in the facing of its walls are laid with lime mortar, a technique which cannot be dated earlier than the period of the Gracchi. We recognize then what may be an old tradition with a new technique which cannot have been introduced before the last half of the second century B. C. Somewhere between this and perhaps the period of the colony of Sulla we may date the earlier temple.

ORVIETO

Moving southwards from Florence we find the next temple in the group under consideration at Orvieto, the probable site of Etruscan Volsinii. It stands facing south-east at the very edge of the town near the Pozzo di San Patrizio. At this point the great rock on which the town is built slopes down to a level slightly lower than elsewhere. Very little of the structure of the temple is actually preserved, just enough to enable one to make out its plan with a reasonable amount of probability. The presence of such an edifice in this locality had been known for over a hundred years, and fragments of its decoration had been picked up or taken out of the ground during all that period. In 1921-1923 however the first systematic excavations brought to light the foundations of the temple and many more of the decorative elements. My account is based upon the careful report of these excavations published in the *Notizie degli Scavi*, corroborated by personal observation on the site. [1]

At the point where the temple is built the rock slopes very abruptly so that at some points it was necessary to make the foundation walls much higher than at others. The method of construction employed was to cut shallow trenches in the bed rock to receive the lowest courses of stones and then to build up to the required height. The spaces between the walls were filled in with earth pounded down until it was hard. In the deeper parts this earth was laid in strata separated by thin layers of rock fragments. The actual remains of the walls can thus be supplemented by the traces of the rock cutting. What is preserved is as follows: of the north, or back, wall, about 6 m. in the middle; of the east wall, 13.20 m. from the line of the back wall; of the west wall, about 10 m., comprising the southern half; of the south wall, about 6.50 m., at its western end. The two latter walls meet to form the southwest corner. Two isolated stones of the east half of the south wall

[1] L. Pernier, E. Stefani, *Not. Scavi*, 1925, 133-161, pls. 5, 6; L. Pernier, *Dedalo*, vi, 1925-1926, 137-164.

are also *in situ*. At right angles to the south wall, built against its face but not structurally part of it, is another section about 5 m. in length which is almost in line with the west wall. Parallel to this is a section about 3 m. long which is almost in line with the east wall and about 2 m. south of the south wall. At a point almost 4 m. from the west wall and about 3 m. from the north wall are two stones of an inner wall standing in the rock trench which was cut to receive them. In line with these blocks at a point about 6 m. from the south wall is a rectangular cutting in the rock measuring 2.03 m. × 1.60 m. At a point 10.55 m. from the front of the south wall is a cutting in the rock running across the width of the temple, starting at a point about 3 m. from the west wall and continuing for about 4 m. The rock cutting in several places gives the original width of the walls when only one row of stones is left standing in them. In two places on the south wall, at points 5 and 10 m. respectively from the southwest corner, the cutting indicates distinct enlargements with the same rectangular proportions as the cutting mentioned above in the area inside the walls.

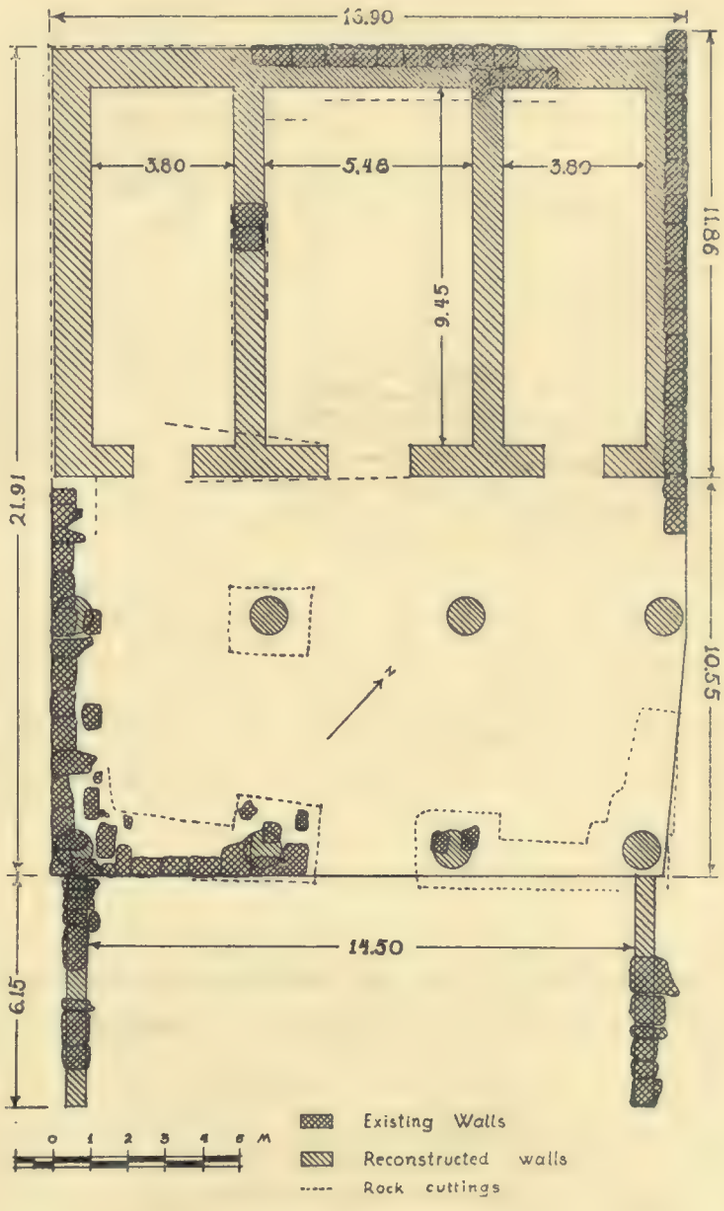

Fig. 2. Temple at Orvieto
Based on plan given by Stefani, *Not. Scavi*, 1925, p. 159, fig. 26.

From these remains and indications we can reconstruct the outlines of the temple. It was a rectangle measuring 21.91 m. × 16.90 m. That it was prostyle we may infer from the enlargements of the south wall and the cuttings in the rock which are perfectly arranged to take the foundations of the columns of the pronaos. The remaining stones and cuttings for the walls indicate the presence of the side wall of a central cella, while the cutting at right angles to these gives the line of its front wall. Whether or not there were side cellae it is difficult to say; but the trench for the front wall of the central cella conitnues to the west beyond its side wall, suggesting the front wall of a side cella. On the

basis of these indications we can proceed to more detailed dimensions. The width of the side cella, taken from the inside of the walls, was 3.80 m. The width of the inside wall is given by the remaining blocks as 0.80 m. Allowing the same dimensions for the interior wall and side cella on the other side we have left 5.48 m. for the width of the central cella. The front wall of the cella divides the temple into two parts, the rear portion measuring 11.86 m. and the front 10.55 m. The enlargements in the south wall mentioned above indicate a tetrastyle façade with a regular intercolumniation of 5.03 m. The rock cutting in the middle of the pronaos shows a second row of columns with the same intercolumniation, the axial distance of which from the front row is 6.20 m. while the distance from the outer face of the front wall of the cella is 3.55 m. The two walls which are built at right angles to the south one extend to a point 6.15 m. beyond it and leave an empty space of 14.50 m. between them. These walls have been interpreted as the foundations for the parapets of a staircase by which one could reach the very high level of the podium. I would suggest however that it is more probable that there was between them an earth ramp, such as Delbrück suggested for the temple at Segni, [1] as there is no trace of what would otherwise have certainly been a massive and imposing flight of stairs.

Numbers of fictile revetments and very interesting decorative statues were found in the vicinity. [2] Among them were numerous fragments of bricks of poorly baked clay which evidently formed the walls of the superstructure and were undoubtedly covered with a painted stucco of which many pieces were found. [3] Near the temple were found four cylindrical blocks of tufa measuring about 1 m. in diameter. [4] These doubtless formed part of the columns. The entablature must have been wooden.

The terra-cottas date from the beginning of the V. century to the beginning of the III. There are frequent indications of a fire to which we may attribute the end of the temple and the cult, as the votive objects extend over the same period.

There is, I believe, no evidence for identifying the cult maintained at this site, except a small bronze statuette of Minerva found in the stips. This find gives no assurance that the temple was dedicated to the goddess. As far as I know it has never been suggested that this was a Capitolium; and certainly its position, so far from the main part of the town, would be very ill adapted to the functions of a Capitolium.

[1] *Das Capitolium von Signia*, 3.
[2] *Dedalo*, vi, 1925-6, 137-164.
[3] *Not. Scavi*, 1925, 143.
[4] *Dedalo*, vi, 1925-6, 153. Such column drums can now be seen at the site at several points along the south wall. They must have been placed there after their discovery, as there is no indication in the report that they were found there and the account in *Dedalo* states their provenance as several meters distant from the temple. Moreover they now stand on a level below that of the ancient floor of the pronaos, so that their present position is not only inaccurate but misleading.

VEII

Excavations carried out at Veii during the years 1913-1916 revealed a temple, near which were found the famous statue of Apollo and the fragments of its companions, now in the Villa Giulia Museum.[1] The temple stood near the city walls[2] — the Romans were doubtless not the first to build a road there, — and was closely connected with a structure which appears to be a water tank or reservoir. No plans of the temple have ever been published nor any detailed description. It is however possible to make out the general outlines of the plan on the site, in spite of the ruinous condition of some parts of the walls. The cella was in all probability triple, and as far as one can judge by the eye the temple must have been almost exactly square, and thus similar in type to the temples at Fiesole and Terracina.[3]

An identification of the cult here observed has been suggested by Giglioli.[4] He observes that among the sherds in the stips found near the temple three inscriptions refer to the goddess Minerva. This leads him to suppose that the inhabitants of the other two cellae were Jupiter and Juno, the other two members of the Capitoline Triad. To support this theory he quotes the well-known passage from Servius: *prudentes Etruscae disciplinae aiunt apud conditores Etruscarum urbium non putatas iustas urbes, in quibus non tres portae essent dedicatae et tot viae et tot templa, Iovis Iunonis Minervae.*[5] The location on the edge of the city is however inappropriate, and the identification of the cult must remain uncertain. The presence of one member of the Triad cannot be taken as proof that all three were there.

The temple is dated as a rule by its connection with the VI.-V. century figures found beside it. This can of course only be a tentative date, but it is very unlikely that a temple on such a scale would have been built simply to maintain a cult after the destruction of the city in 390 B.C. This is at all events one of the earliest temples in Italy and it may be hoped that the final report of the excavation will supply more detailed information on the problems connected with it.

ROME, CAPITOLIUM

The most interesting of all the early temples of Italy is also unfortunately one of the least well preserved. The Capitolium at Rome, the home of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and the centre of the state religion of Rome, had so completely vanished from above ground

[1] *Not. Scavi*, 1919, 13-37; *Ant. Denkm.*, iii, 53-66, pls. 45-55; *Not. Scavi*, 1930, 344 f.; *cf. The Year's Work in Cl. St.*, 1930, 117.

[2] Giglioli (*Not. Scavi*, 1930, 345) states that the temple was outside the walls: but from the very nature of the site and the presence of walls below the temple this seems improbable. Moreover, the first report locates the temple within the city (*Not. Scavi*, 1919, 14).

[3] Giglioli (*Not. Scavi*, 1919, 35) states that the width of the temple was about 18.50 m.

[4] *Not. Scavi*, 1930, 344 f.

[5] *Aen.*, i, 422.

that for a long time even its site was uncertain. It was often maintained that the temple stood on the north end of the Capitoline hill in the place where the church of Aracoeli now is. Lanciani [1] however proved that this was not correct, and located it on the southern end of the hill, on the spot then occupied by the Palazzo Caffarelli, now known as the Museo Mussolini. It is due partly to the building activity of the Caffarelli family in the XVII. century that so little of the temple survived, for when they wished to build their palace, they found that the foundation walls, which had stood high till then, obstructed their plans. To make the area level, they therefore blew up the projecting portions. [2]

Since there are so little remains of the temple that it would be impossible to interpret them without the help of the literary evidence, it is this latter source which must be considered first. Here there is an abundance of material from which to reconstruct the history of the temple for more than six hundred years. According to tradition, it was vowed by Tarquinius Priscus during the war with the Sabines. He laid the foundations, but the building was actually completed by his son, and the dedication was performed in the first year of the republic by the consul Horatius. [3] Difficulties were encountered in the construction, for the funds originally allotted to it were only sufficient to pay for the foundations, and the plebs were pressed into service to supplement the builders who had been brought from Etruria for the purpose. Moreover the very nature of the ground made it difficult. The south end of the Capitolium was precipitous and did not provide a sufficiently large level area on which to build the temple. To meet this difficulty the crest of the hill was surrounded with retaining walls and the inside area filled with earth, thus making a level platform on which the temple was erected. [4] It was doubtless to this that Pliny was referring when he said: .... *senes.... substructiones Capitolii mirabantur.* [5] The temple itself, as stated above, was built with the aid of Etruscan workmen, and many of the decorations were executed by Etruscan artists. [6] This building stood for over four hundred years, steadily increasing in repute and wealth, and occasionally undergoing minor repairs, [7] but still essentially the same in plan and appearance. On the 6th of July, 83 B. C., a fire mysteriously broke out and the temple was completely destroyed. [8] Sulla took this opportunity to collect great sums of money for the restoration and evidently planned to execute it with the utmost magnificence. Pliny tells us that he took columns for his new building from the unfinished temple of Zeus Olympius in Athens. [9] The actual restoration however

[1] *Bull. Com.*, iii, 1875, 165-189.

[2] JORDAN, *Topogr.*, I, ii, 73.

[3] LIVY, i, 38, 7; 53, 2 f.; 55; ii, 8. CIC., *De Re Publica*, ii, 36. TAC., *Hist.*, iii, 72. DION. HAL., iv, 59, 61. PLUT., *Poplicola*, 13. For bibliography on details outside the scope of this discussion see JORDAN, *Topographie*, i, 2, 8-46.

[4] DION. HAL., iii, 69. This is a form of construction very commonly found, particularly in regions where the rock is hard and difficult to cut, as for instance in the limestone areas southeast of Rome.

[5] *N.H.*, xxxvi, 104.

[6] LIVY, i, 56, 1; PLINY, *N.H.*, xxxv, 157; FESTUS, 342 L.; PLUT., *Poplicola*, 13.

[7] LIVY, xl, 51, 3; for the accumulation of treasures see JORDAN, *op. cit.*, i, 2, 13-20.

[8] CIC., *Cat.*, iii, 9; SALL., *Cat.*, 47, 2; TAC., *Hist.*, iii, 72; APP., *B. C.*, i, 83, 86; PLUT., *Sulla*, 27; OBSEQ., 57.

[9] *N. H.*, xxxvi, 45.

was entrusted to Catulus, and Sulla died before it was completed.[1] We have several notices about this stage of the temple. Although Augustus carried out some repairs on the building they cannot have been important enough essentially to alter its appearance.[2] We may assume then that the observations of Augustan writers can be taken to apply to Catulus' building. Varro, replying to Servius Sulpicius, tells him that Catulus was not able to carry out the full plan which he had in mind. He had wanted to lower the level of the Area Capitolina (the open area around the temple) so that one would have to reach the temple by a longer flight of steps and the podium would thus become higher in proportion to the size of the pediment. He was however unable to do this because of the rooms and cisterns below the level of the area, which were used as storerooms for the temple.[3] He had therefore to content himself with adding to the magnificence of the superstructure, for he preserved the old plan and built again on the original foundations.[4] Pliny tells us that he gilded the bronze roof tiles.[5] According to Dionysius, the temple faced south and had a pronaos with three rows of columns, one row of columns along each side, and three cellae for the three gods. Within the cella of Jupiter there was probably an inner shrine such as we have met elsewhere.[6] From Vitruvius we can deduce one interesting detail. He gives the Capitolium as an example of the araeostyle type and says *et ipsarum aedium species sunt varicae, barycephalae, humiles, latae,....*[7] None of these adjectives could be applied to a temple which incorporated the columns from the Olympieion in Athens, which Sulla had taken for this purpose. Obviously Catulus did not use them. Nothing more is heard of those columns after they were taken from Athens, but we read that one of Sulla's ships which was bringing home spoils foundered off Cape Malea.[8] It is possible that the columns were in this ship and that for this reason Catulus contented himself with a more sumptuous version of the old form.

[1] Tac., *Hist.*, iii, 72; Val. Max., ix, 3, 8; Cic., *Verr.*, II, iv, 69; Pliny, *N. H.*, xix, 23; Plut., *Poplicola*, 15.

[2] *Mon. Anc.*, 4, 9. This is the only notice of these repairs.

[3] Gellius, ii, 10, 2 f.: *Varro rescripsit in memoria sibi esse quod Q. Catulus curator restituendi Capitolii dixisset, voluisse se aream Capitolinam deprimere, ut pluribus gradibus in aedem conscenderetur suggestusque pro fastigii magnitudine altior fieret, sed facere id non quisse, quoniam «favisae» impedissent. Id esse cellas quasdam et cisternas quae in area sub terra essent, ubi reponi solerent signa vetera quae ex eo templo collapsa essent, et alia quaedam religiosa e donis consecratis.*

[4] Dion. Hal., iv, 61, 4: *ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῖς αὐτοῖς θεμελίοις ὁ μετὰ τὴν ἔμπρησιν οἰκοδομηθεὶς κατὰ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ἱδρύθη [al. εὑρέθη], τῇ πολυτελείᾳ τῆς ὕλης μόνον διαλλάττων τοῦ ἀρχαίου,.....*

Tac., *Hist.*, iii, 72: *isdem rursus vestigiis situm est.* The account in Platner-Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, states that he increased the height of the building, giving as evidence the reference in Val. Max., iv, 4, 11: *Namque per Romuli casam perque veteris Capitolii humilia tecta.* This is however obviously a reference to the Capitolium Vetus, a fact which nobody seems to have used in discussing that mysterious building.

[5] *N. H.*, xxxiii, 57.

[6] Livy, xxxv, 41, 10: *de multa damnatorum quadrigae inauratae in Capitolio positae et in cella Iovis supra fastigium aediculae duodecim clupea inaurata,....*

[7] iii, 3, 5.

[8] Lucian, *Zeuxis*, 3. This was presumably in 86 B.C. before the destruction of the Capitolium. *Cf.* Paus., x, 21, 6. Sulla may have had a restoration in mind when he took the columns. Or, as suggested by Judeich, *Topogr. v. Athen*², 96, the columns may have been removed by Sulla's orders after the burning of the Capitolium in 83 B. C.

Fire again destroyed the temple in 69 A.D., this time starting in no mysterious manner. While Flavius Sabinus, the brother of Vespasian, was being besieged in the Capitol, the buildings around the temple were fired, the flames leapt to its roof, caught the old-fashioned wooden beams, and once more the house of Jupiter was reduced to ashes.[1] Vespasian undertook the subsequent restoration with the greatest ceremony. The haruspices were consulted and they ordered that the remains of the earlier building should be cast into the marshes and the temple erected again on the old foundations: *nolle deos mutari veterem formam.* The only change which was allowed was an increase in height, which was doubtless managed in some simpler way than Catulus had contemplated. The ceremony of consecrating the foundations and laying the first stone was elaborately performed in 70 A.D. The dedication was completed before Vespasian died, but exactly when is unknown.[2]

Misfortune seems to have haunted the Capitolium at this period, for in the great fire of 80 A. D. it was again destroyed.[3] Titus undertook the vows to restore it,[4] but Domitian completed the plans.[5] This temple was the most splendid of all, for Plutarch states that the gilding of it alone cost twelve thousand talents. He also mentions the columns of Pentelic marble which were brought from Athens, where he had seen and admired them. In Rome however they were recut and scraped, thus losing much of their beauty.[6] It appears from his criticism that Plutarch had seen them standing, from which we may conclude that Domitian took them from a building in Athens and did not have them quarried especially for the occasion. The easiest building in Athens from which to remove them would have been the still unfinished Olympieion. Can we say that Domitian here took a hint from Sulla and robbed the same building as his predecessor but with more success? We are not told that this restoration preserved the same plan as the old one, but as so much emphasis was laid on this preservation only a few years before, it seems reasonable to suppose that the same principle was observed again. It was this building which stood throughout the declining years of the Empire and gave rise to the many marvelous tales which make the Capitolium seem like the eighth wonder of the world. No date can be given for its actual destruction although there are accounts of its intermittent looting at the hands of the barbarians.[7]

[1] Tac., *Hist.*, iii, 71; Suet., *Vitell.*, 15, 3; Plut., *Poplicola*, 15, a; Dio, lxiv, 17. One occasionally finds the statement that the roof was supported by wooden eagles (Platner-Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, 1929, 229; Rodocanachi, *The Roman Capitol*, 1906, 38). This must be a misinterpretation of the passage from Tacitus cited here, in which are mentioned *sustinentes fastigium aquilae*, which *vetere ligno traxerunt flammam alueruntque.* The word here, although it is a very rare usage in Latin, must be the translation of the Greek ἀετός used in its architectural sense of pediment.

[2] Plut., *Poplicola*, 15, 2; Suet., *Vesp.*, 8; Tac., *Hist.*, iv, 4; 9; 53.

[3] Plut., *Popl.*, 15, 3; Suet., *Dom.*, 5; Dio, lxvi, 24, 2.

[4] *C.I.L.*, vi, i, 2059.

[5] Plut., *loc. cit.*; Suet., *loc. cit.*; *cf.* a coin of Domitian of 82 A. D. with the inscription CAPIT RESTIT (Mattingly, *B. M. Cat. Coins of the Roman Empire*, ii, p. 351, no. 251; Cohen, *Dom.*, 23).

[6] Plut., *Popl.*, 15, 4: *οἱ δὲ κίονες ἐκ τοῦ Πεντελῆσιν ἐτμήθησαν λίθου, κάλλιστα τῷ πάχει πρὸς τὸ μῆκος ἔχοντες· εἴδομεν γὰρ αὐτοὺς Ἀθήνησιν. ἐν δὲ Ῥώμῃ πληγέντες αὖθις καὶ ἀναξυσθέντες οὐ τοσοῦτον ἔσχον γλαφυρίας ὅσον ἀπώλεσαν συμμετρίας καὶ τοῦ καλοῦ, διάκενοι καὶ λαγαροὶ φανέντες.*

[7] See Jordan, *Topographie*, i, 2, 1885, 31.

Our knowledge of the temple based on these literary sources is supplemented by a series of contemporary illustrations on coins and reliefs, which cover every period. [1] Unfortunately there is so much difference in the details attributed even to the same stage of the building as represented on the coins that we cannot have great faith in them. In many cases the details seem to be given only to identify the building; the use of a thunderbolt for instance or an eagle indicates its connection with Jupiter, when on the small surface afforded by a coin there was not room to be accurate. The main information to be derived from these illustrations is that the temple was hexastyle and that it had three doors, the central one larger than the side ones, which presumably opened into the three cellae. Occasional variations yield a tetrastyle temple, but the overwhelming proportion of representations show the edifice as hexastyle, and the literary testimony to conservatism in regard to the plan leads one to suppose that it was always so. Moreover, the statues of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, which are often shown between the columns, as though the doors of the cellae were open, represent the god seated and the two goddesses standing, a convention which is not regularly followed in the figures on the pediment. These pedimental figures are shown in more detail in some reliefs which record the last period of the temple, and it is interesting to note that where the scale of the work is larger there is more agreement as to detail than on the coins.

Equipped with this external evidence we may turn to what we know of the site. Various building operations at one time and another in connection with the Palazzo Caffarelli, now the Museo Mussolini, have laid bare stretches of wall which are attributed to the foundations of the temple. They are all built of cappellaccio, cut in blocks which are roughly laid in a crude system of headers and stretchers. The joins are irregular and the blocks project from the wall in some places as much as 0.20 m. It is obvious that these were foundation walls and not intended to be seen. The blocks all measure between 0.30 m. and 0.38 m. in height. The stretchers are about 0.90 m. long and 0.60 m. wide. The headers have an average length of about 0.55 m. and a width of between 0.80 m. and 0.90 m. [2] In places the walls are preserved to a height of 6 m.

The discoveries of the nineteenth century around and about the Palazzo Caffarelli were published very fully, and these reports are still the main source for the detailed measurements. [3] The deductions as to the plan of the temple which were based upon them however were not accurate, as has been proved by Paribeni, who in 1920 conducted excavations which laid bare three corners of the great rectangle formed by the walls and located the fourth. [4] The north wall had previously eluded discovery. It is therefore not prof-

[1] For a detailed discussion, see Appendix I, pp. 138-143.

[2] For a discussion of this see DELBRÜCK, *Der Apollotempel auf dem Marsfelde*, 1903, 12 f., and pl. ii, 2.

[3] ROSA, *Ann. d. I.*, xxxvii, 1865, 382-386; JORDAN, *Ann. d. I.*, xlviii, 1876, 145-172; LANCIANI, *Bull. Comm.*, 1875, 165-189; 1876, 31-34. See also JORDAN, *op. cit.*, i, 2, 66-75. For a plan of the excavations see Pl. 0, Fig. 2.

[4] *Not. Scavi*, 1921, 38.

itable to discuss in detail the previous theories propounded in the reports, as to the exact proportions of the temple. Paribeni's plan (Pl. 9, Fig. 1) shows that the walls formed almost a square, measuring 55 m. by 60 m. He wisely discards detailed measurements, which can have no significance in a material which weathers as badly as cappellaccio. This plan, as he points out, agrees admirably with the one piece of ancient evidence as to the actual dimensions of the building. Dionysius states that the temple stood on a high podium and measured about 8 plethra in circumference and about 200 feet on a side, and that there were less than fifteen feet of difference between the length and breadth. [1] In earlier reports this had always been considered an approximate measurement, and precision was not regarded as important when the findings did not coincide. Paribeni shows that Dionysius' measurements (assuming that he used the "Greek foot" of the metrological writers of 0.308 m.) yield a rectangle of 63.91 m. × 59.29 m. He further points out that if the foot of 0.308 m. was really the Ptolemaic foot and Dionysius was using an earlier Greek foot which came nearer to the Roman foot of 0.296 m. the proportions would be 61.42 m. × 56.98 m. This latter interpretation comes very close to what we actually find, and we must always keep in mind that it is the inner parts of the walls that are preserved. There must have been some facing, which would have added materially to the total dimensions.

By combining the plans published in the earlier reports and the one given by Paribeni (see Plate 9), we can observe in some measure the way in which the walls were arranged. Some part at least has been found of each outer wall, and portions of some of the inner walls. The outer ones as we saw above enclose an area of about 60 m. × 55 m. Since we know that the temple overlooked the Forum we may take it that the south side is the front. [2] The outer walls on the sides were 5.60 m. thick and those at the back and front probably 8 m. thick. There was one inner wall 4 m. thick which ran north starting from the south wall. Between this and the outer east wall was a space 4.70 m. wide. In this space Schupmann reported a construction which he described as follows: *Nell'interno di questo angolo fu trovato.... m. 2.30 sotto il pavimento* [3] *della rimessa un quadrato col lato di m. 3.20 composto di massi di travertino, grossi almeno, ... m. 1.20; non si potè sapere se sotto ad essi vi si trovassero altri massi. Distavano da tre lati dalle mura ugualmente m. 0.40 ed erano una volta congiunte fra di loro con spranghe di metallo. Nella superficie dei travertini si trovavano dei buchi.... quadrati incavati.... collegati coll'orlo del masso con canaletti stretti destinati forse all'impiombazione.... Negli spazi fra il travertino e le mura di tufa non si trovò altro che la creta vergine.* [4] There were found also fragments of columns of Pentelic

[1] iv, 61: *Ἐποιήθη δ' ἐπὶ κρηπῖδος ὑψηλῆς βεβηκὼς ὀκτάπλεθρος τὴν περίοδον, διακοσίων ποδῶν ἔγγιστα τὴν πλευρὰν ἔχων ἑκάστην · ὀλίγον δέ τι τὸ διαλλάττον εὕροι τις ἂν τῆς ὑπεροχῆς τοῦ μήκους παρὰ τὸ πλάτος οὐδ' ὅλων πεντεκαίδεκα ποδῶν.*

[2] It is actually 26° 30' east of south. (PARIBENI, *op. cit.*, 41).

[3] JORDAN (*op. cit.*, i, 2, 81) gives this as 6 m. below the pavement of the temple.

[4] *Ap.* JORDAN, *Ann. d. I.*, xlviii, 1876, 152 f. The explanation offered by Jordan (*loc. cit.*) seems unsatisfactory.

marble which are reconstructed as having had a lower diameter of about 2 m. and an Attic base 2.26 m. across.[1] Travertine, metal clamps, and marble are indicative of a late restoration.

By combining this evidence with that supplied by the other sources, various reconstructions have been proposed. None of those suggested before Paribeni's report appeared needs to be considered here because they were based on insufficient material. Since then two more have been published in the same year in which the authors, working independently, arrive at different results. The account of the temple given in Platner and Ashby's *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (1929) contains this statement: "The temple was hexastyle, with three rows of columns across the front and a single row on each side, and the intercolumnar spaces corresponded with the different widths of the three adjacent cellae. As the bases of the columns were about 8 ft. (2.23 m.) in breadth, the wider intercolumniations measured 40 ft. (11.12 m.) and the narrower 30 ft. (8.9 m.)". These calculations are apparently based on the statements of Vitruvius[2] that the temple was areostyle and that in areostyle temples <the intercolumniation is more than three times the diameter of the column, so that> it is necessary to use wood for the entablature. It has always been thought that the purpose of the inner parallel wall and other similar ones that have been assumed in the foundations was to carry the columns. This account however was apparently prepared with no relation to the foundations, for neither intercolumniation would place a column so that it was adequately supported by the interior wall. This may have been due to the fact that the author gives the width of the interior wall as 5.60 m. although all the reports state that it was only 4 m. wide. This reconstruction cannot be considered satisfactory. Another one is given by Dr. Inez Scott in her discussion of the Capitolium, in which she uses the measurements supplied to her by the authorities who conducted the recent excavations.[3] She bases her calculations on the relations of the foundation walls, assuming that the outer wall supported the outer row of columns and that the inner wall supported the next row. This gives her an intercolumniation at the side of 9.50 m. Since, according to Vitruvius, the smaller intercolumniation is to the larger as three to four, and assuming that the outer intercolumniation agrees with the one determined by the width of the side cella, she calculates a central intercolumniation of 12.75 m. This gives a total width for the temple of 56.35 m., that is a little more than a meter over the width given by Paribeni. This might perhaps be allowable, if one assigned the extra width to the facing which has disappeared. Unfortunately Dr. Scott started her calculations from the east end of the wall and based them on its relations to the parallel wall at this corner. Thus the extra width, instead of being divided equally between the two sides, comes all at the west end. The centre of the last column at this end would therefore fall at a point

[1] JORDAN, *op. cit.*, i, 2, 72, n. 69.
[2] iii, 3, 4-5.
[3] *Early Roman Traditions in the Light of Archaeology*, *Mem. Amer. Acad. in Rome*, vii, 1929, 99-102.

1.45 m. from the edge of the wall, instead of at the centre as it should, both for constructional reasons and so as to be symmetrical with the arrangement at the other end.

All the reconstructions which have been proposed have been on far too large a scale. Something of the mediaeval belief in the immense size of the Capitolium seems to have crept into modern feeling on the subject, and to have made us feel that anything is possible in connection with it. I think however that we must take into consideration the practical factors.[1] On these grounds I am forced to believe that we cannot reconstruct the Capitolium on the evidence of the walls around and inside the Museo Mussolini. Unfortunately, owing to the architectural enthusiasm of the Caffarelli, all traces of the inner part of the temple have now disappeared, and with them all hope of a certain reconstruction. It seems to me useless to pretend that we can solve this problem, and equally useless to propound hypothetical plans with neither evidence nor proof.

The date of the Capitolium is generally accepted as tradition gives it to us in the period of the kings. From what little remains to us now we cannot be sure of any criteria. The roughness of the construction points to an early date, but we must remember that these are only foundation walls without their facing. There is however nothing in them to refute the traditional date.

SEGNI

The temple at Segni, the ancient Signia, is one of the few which are sufficiently well preserved so that there can be almost no doubt as to their reconstruction. It has also the advantage of having been excellently published by Delbrück. His book "*Das Capitolium von Signia*" leaves nothing to be desired in the description of the material, except perhaps some actual photographs of the site.[2] For the sake of completeness however I shall resume his statements.

The temple stands on a natural terrace above the modern town and just below the acropolis. Apparently it owes its remarkable state of preservation to the presence of the church of San Pietro in the ancient cella, but in any case, it would have needed considerable effort for the most determined Vandal to destroy such a structure. It is one of the largest temples with which we have to deal. There is first a massive podium which stands almost three meters high, built in the polygonal style characteristic of the district and well adapted to the native limestone. The inner part of this podium is not solid but composed of cross walls, placed where they were needed to support the superstructure, while the intervening

[1] Not only the wood of the original construction but the stone which, in part at least, eventually replaced it. The architrave blocks of the Olympieion in Athens, from which, as we have seen, the columns for the Capitolium may have come, measure only 6.553 m. (DURM, *Baukunst der Griechen*[3], p. 421). JORDAN, *op. cit.*, i, 2, 72, fails to meet this difficulty.

[2] For a view of the church of San Pietro, showing the ancient podium and part of the ancient superstructure, see Pl. 10, Fig. 1.

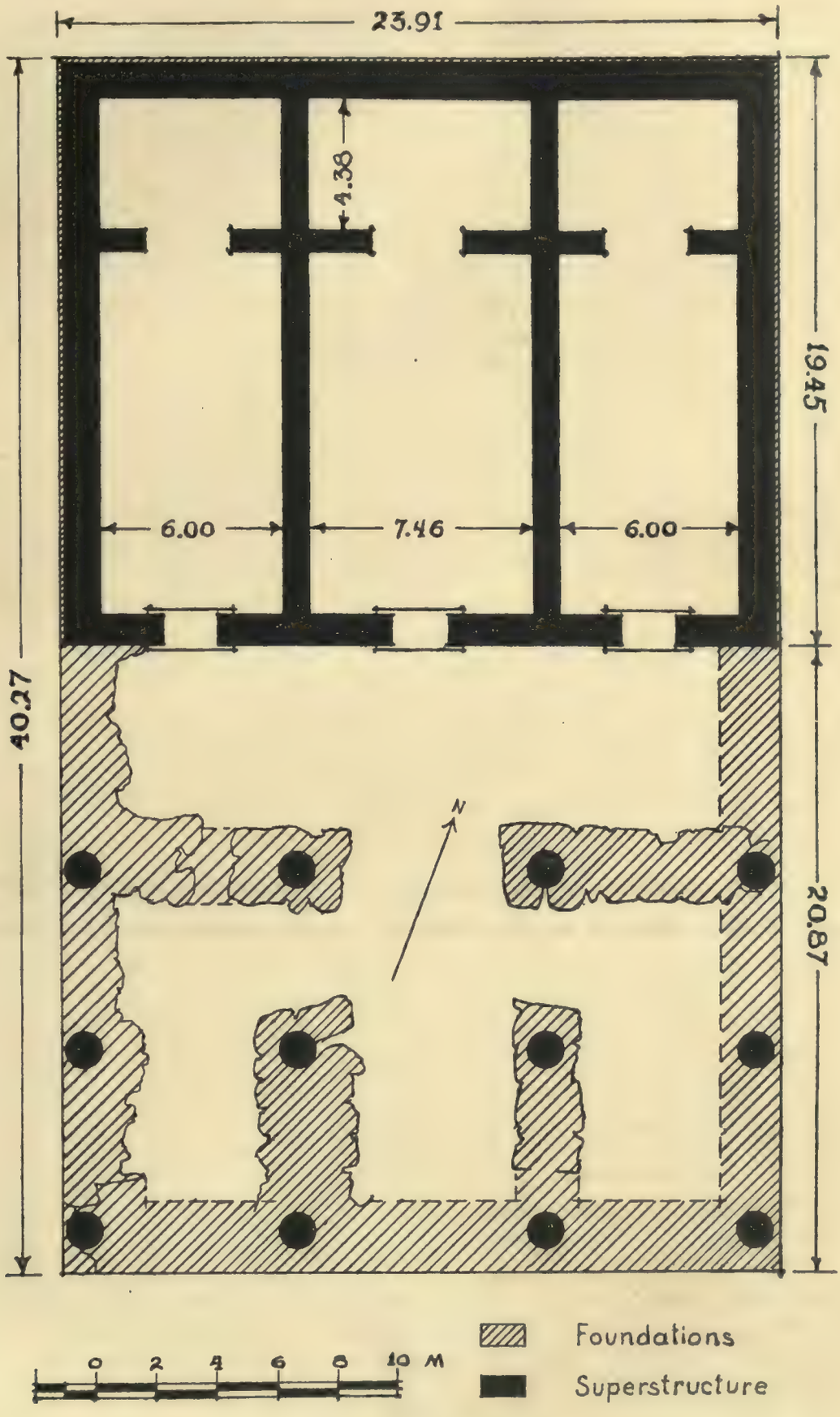

Fig. 3. Temple at Segni
Based on plan given by Delbrück, *Das Capitolium von Signia*, plate 1.

spaces were filled in with earth. Some of these foundation walls are enormous, measuring as much as three meters in width. The podium is composed of two steps. The lower one is 1.18 m. in height, and the upper, which is set back 1.16 m., is 1.82 m. high. The area on top of the podium is 40.27 m. × 23.91 m. This is divided by a cross wall almost in the middle, which leaves 19.45 m. for the cellae and 20.82 m. for the pronaos. The pronaos is again subdivided by rough spur walls which project from the inside of the outer walls but without meeting. Two of these about 6 m. long project from the south wall, at points about 7 m. distant from the side walls. The space between them is about 8 m. At a point on each side wall about 12 m. from the front another spur wall projects at right angles to the first ones, for about 7.50 m., leaving a gap between their ends of about 8 m. These walls are, of course, all foundations. We may now proceed to the superstructure, much of which is preserved incorporated in the church. The construction in this part is of ashlar masonry, in tufa. The blocks are regular and show anathyrosis. The north wall is preserved up to the ninth course, the east side wall of the central cella has eight courses left, and the west one ten. Above these points, the structure appears to be modern. The south wall may be in part preserved behind the façade of the church. The south wall of the west cella is preserved for about a meter and a half to the north, and the first stone in the lowest course of the south wall of the east cella can also be seen in place. Similarly in the north wall, one can see the broken ends of its continuation to the east and west. The thresholds of the western and central doors are both in place.

The reconstruction of the temple is quite simple. It falls into the two main divisions of the cellae and pronaos, and the relation of the three cellae is clearly indicated. Inside the cellae, Delbrück restores at the rear a sort of adyton, or low-roofed chamber, such as is found in the Capitolium at Pompeii, or in the temple at Gabii. The evidence for this is the anathyrosis on the blocks on the west face of the west wall of the central cella, 4.38 m. from the north wall, which continues up to the height of the eighth course. This apparently indicates a low wall built against the cella wall. The pronaos must have been divided by three rows of four columns each, which stood on the axes of the cella walls, so that the central intercolumniation was 8.33 m. and the side ones 7.025 m. The outer columns were placed above the outside foundation walls while the central columns were placed on the ends of the spur walls. The first two intercolumniations from the front measure both 6 m. but between the third row and the south wall of the cella there is a space of 7.46 m. There are no indications of any stairs by which one might have reached the upper level of the podium. Delbrück, however, points out that the centre of the south face of the podium has been left unworked as though it were not meant to be seen. From this he deduces that there was here an earth ramp leading to the pronaos which would have disappeared long ago leaving no traces.

The dating of this temple is complicated by the difficulty of dating polygonal masonry.

When Delbrück published his work, he concluded from the triple cella that this was the Capitolium of the colony at Signia, which was traditionally founded by Tarquinius Superbus.[1] That so large and impressive a structure should have been erected by the Romans in what was for them only a military outpost, at a time when Rome was still using wood for superstructures, seems almost incredible. Far less impressive podia, which probably still had wooden superstructures, can be dated at Norba as late as the third century. New light however has been thrown upon the matter by the excavations of the year 1916. The only report of these which has been published is a brief notice in the *Cronaca dell'Arte* for that year.[2] There we find the statement that the difference in the dimensions of the terra-cottas found at that time proves that there were smaller buildings where the present temple now stands. The temple as we now see it is to be dated in the II. century, to which period belong the very large revetments of the entablature and pediment. It is also stated definitely that one of the earlier temples was dedicated to Juno Moneta. Although no evidence is cited for this statement, it is apparently based on the inscription found in the *stips votiva* which reads *Iunonei Monetai donom*, and another one cut on a fragment of a stone torus which reads, [*I*]*uno*[*ni*].[3] Della Seta accepts these inscriptions as evidence that the temple was dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, not taking into consideration the fact that the title of Juno in the Triad is *Regina*, not *Moneta*. He assigns three periods to the temple, one in the VI.-V. century, one in the IV.-III., and a final restoration in the II.-I. century. He does not however suggest a date for the present superstructure.

The evidence of the inscriptions proves that this was originally the temple of Juno Moneta. The character of the stips is also in keeping with the cult of Juno.[4] It is extremely unlikely that a spot once dedicated to this goddess would later have been taken over by another cult. We may safely accept this as the temple of Juno Moneta. What divinities, if any, were housed in the side cellas, we cannot say.

TERRACINA

The main piazza of Terracina preserves even today something of the atmosphere which must have pervaded the forum of the ancient town. One can still see cut in the slabs of the pavement the name of the magistrate or benefactor who was responsible for laying it.[5] The same man built the temple of Rome and Augustus, the site of which was probably that

[1] DION. HAL., iv, 63, 1; LIVY, i, 56, 3.

[2] *Boll. Arte*, x, 1916, *Cronaca*, 14.

[3] DELLA SETA, *Mus. di Villa Giulia*, 216, 221. *Cf.* LAKE, *Juno Moneta*, *T.A.P.A.*, lxiv, 1933, pp. xlix-l. Della Seta attributes to a hypothetical seated statue of Jupiter a colossal foot, made of terra-cotta. It is difficult to determine the sex of a detached foot, but the presence of some traces of white paint leads me to believe that it belonged rather to a female divinity. In any case the attribution is too uncertain to be of any value.

[4] DELLA SETA, *op. cit.*, 221 f.

[5] *C.I.L.*, x, 6306.

now occupied by the Cathedral of San Cesareo. One can still see the remains of a temple incorporated in the Cathedral.[1] From its position and dimensions this must have been the most important temple in the town proper, although the sanctuaries on the hill above were known far beyond the immediate neighborhood. There were however many other interesting temples in the town, including an important example of the triple-cella type. We find in this case that the temple is near the forum but not on it, as though at the time when it was built there were no available space nearer the desired location. It has received little attention in works other than Lugli's publication of Terracina, perhaps because of its inconspicuous position.[2]

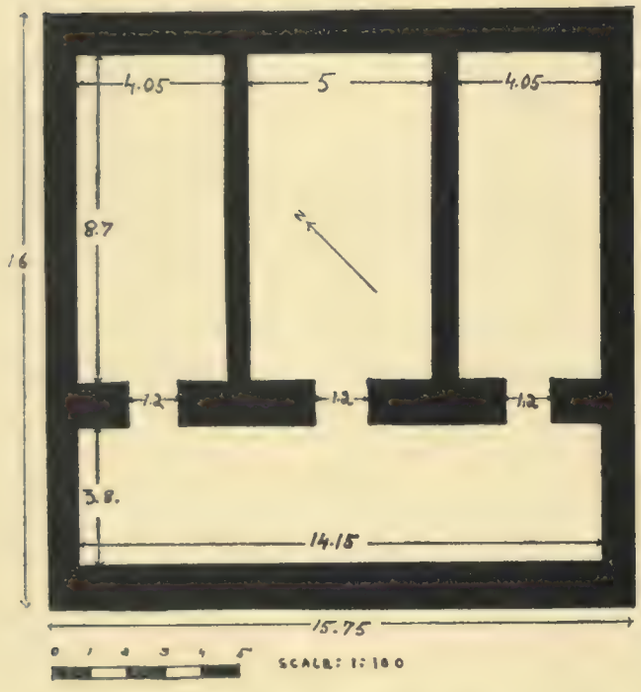

Fig. 4. Temple at Terracina
Based on measurements given by Lugli, *Forma Italiae*, Reg. I, i, cols. 83-85.

By dint of a certain amount of scrambling in cellars one may make out the plan, for the foundations are well preserved. The podium is formed of three parallel chambers, with another one running at right angles to them across the front, like a narthex. Each of the longitudinal rooms has an opening into the front one. The roofs of these rooms are concrete vaults and the walls are reticulate. There is no brickwork. The podium was practically square, measuring 16 m. in length and 15.75 m. in width. The front room is 3.80 m. deep and the three parallel rooms are 8.70 m. long; the central one is 5 m. wide and each of the side ones 4.05 m. wide. In the Via della Catena the outside of the podium can be seen with the moulding of its cornice, and the base of a column *in situ* above. The height of the podium is 2.14 m. Further down the street the Tuscan-Doric corner pilaster is preserved *in situ*. The reticulate walls can be seen up to the height of the second story of the modern houses in which they are incorporated. A front pilaster of the cella is also visible. The piece of cornice found near the Forum and now preserved in the Museo Civico probably belongs to this temple.

From these remains it can be seen that the temple was pseudoperipteral with pilasters around the cella walls, and probably tetrastyle. The presence of the three vaults indicates that there were almost certainly three cellae. Although the system of dividing the podium

[1] *C.I.L.*, x, 6305. *Cf.* Lugli, *Forma Italiae*, Regio I, Vol. I, cols. 77-83.

[2] Lugli, *op. cit.*, cols. 83-85. In the following description I have followed Lugli's account. The accompanying plan is based on the measurements which he gives.

into parallel vaults is common in concrete construction because of the saving of material thus effected,[1] and is therefore not necessarily an indication of a triple cella, three vaults would hardly be necessary in a temple of this moderate size unless they had some other constructional purpose such as supporting the cella walls. This purpose is also indicated by the fact that the vaults lie only under the cellae and do not continue under the pronaos. The character of the construction indicates a date after the discarding of the pseudo-reticulate of the Sullan period and before the development of brick technique in the period of Augustus.[2] The plan with a triple cella and approximately square proportions suggests a Capitolium, and the proximity to the forum is in keeping with this idea. Such a form is not likely to have been used at this late date unless it was necessary. It seems strange that when the Roman colony was founded at Terracina in 329 B.C.[3] the Capitolium was not built at the same time. Possibly we have here a late reconstruction of the original temple which preserves the form. The striking resemblance in plan to the temple at Veii suggests that the plan is old-fashioned.

MINTURNAE

In reports on the recent excavations of Minturnae,[4] reference is made to a temple with a triple cella which is identified as the Capitolium. It was probably built when the Roman colony was founded in 296 B.C. The forthcoming publication should provide very interesting material on a period which is not well represented, and on an uncommon type of plan.

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[1] *Cf.* Capitolia at Ostia and Pompeii.
[2] LUGLI, *op. cit.*, col. 84.
[3] LIVY, viii, 21, 11.
[4] J. JOHNSON, *Excavations at Minturnae*, ii, 1 (1933), p. 116, n. 2; *Assoc. Int. St. Med., Boll.*, iv (1933), nos. 1-2, p. 14.

II

TEMPLES WITH THE ITALIC PLAN [1]

MARZABOTTO

The little town of Marzabotto lies in the valley of the Reno, on the first slopes of the mountains above Bologna. In this apparently insignificant spot are some of the most interesting remains in Italy, for in the grounds of the Villa Aria there were discovered the ruins of an Etruscan town, two cemeteries and an acropolis. Thanks to the care and interest of the Conte Aria, excavations were carefully carried out in 1862 and published three years later. The minor finds are now kept in the museum in the Villa. The succeeding generations of the Aria family have preserved the monuments with the greatest care, and the present Conte with characteristic public spirit has recently presented them to the government.

Thanks to the care with which the excavations were published first by Gozzadini [2] and then by Brizio, [3] we know that there is here an Etruscan town founded during the fifth century on a site previously uninhabited, and abandoned in the second century. Although the whole site is of the greatest interest, we are concerned at the moment with the Acropolis only. This is the name given to the level area at the top of the hill above the town. Here on the very edge, above an abrupt slope, were found the remains of five buildings. As a result of their unfortunate position the less well constructed of these are badly preserved, and much of the material has been carried away down hill. Their distance from the town as well as their appearance indicates that these were not houses. Two of them are raised platforms, approached by flights of steps, which apparently never had any superstructure. A *pozzo* containing bones in one suggests a religious function, and we may assume that this holds true of the other structures. Two of these are far too ruinous to be of any value as evidence, but the third, the well known Temple C, has often been discussed. It was first mentioned at length in Brizio's publication, [4] and was cited by Durm, who gives a plan. [5] Degering has discussed it in detail and also gives a plan [6] and a theory as to its reconstruction, which is followed by Grenier in his book on Bologna. [7] Ducati mentions the temples in his books on Etruria and has written a long article dealing with

[1] For the use of this term, see above, p. 91.

[2] Gozzadini, *Di un'antica necropoli a Marzabotto nel Bolognese*, 1865; *Ulteriori scoperte nell'antica necropoli a M. nel B.*, 1870.

[3] E. Brizio, *Relazione sugli scavi eseguiti a Marzabotto presso Bologna*, *Mon. Ant.*, i, 1889, 249-426.

[4] *Op. cit.*, 259-261.

[5] *Die Baukunst der Etrusker und Römer*, ed. 2, 1905, 107, fig. 117.

[6] *Über Etruskischen Tempelbau*, *Götting. Nachrichten*, 1897, 158-160, fig. 13.

[7] *Bologne Villanovienne et Étrusque*, *Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises*, cvi, 1912, 104-106.

the problems involved. [1] All these authorities assume for one reason or another that Temple C had a triple cella. Only Delbrück has suggested an alternative theory. Let us examine the evidence for all this. [2]

The building consists of a network of walls forming several rectangular chambers, and constructed of large uncut stones piled loosely together, re-enforced at the corners with roughly shaped, still larger stones. Although it is impossible to be absolutely definite, the chronology of the rest of the site and the nature of the construction suggest a date in the V. century. The walls measure from 0.90 m. to 1.40 m. in width, and are preserved at some points to a height of almost 2 m. Since there are no signs of any superstructure we must assume that these are the foundation walls of a high podium. In this case the chambers formed by the cross walls would have been filled in with earth. One might suggest that it was simply a platform similar to the other two structures mentioned above but on a larger scale. There are however peculiarities in the arrangement of the walls which can only be explained by assuming that they were planned in relation to the walls of the superstructure. Even these foundation walls are not completely preserved. The rear half, assuming that Temple C like the other structures at this site faced south, can be reconstructed without any doubt, but not the front half. The network of walls in the rear half presents the appearance of one large chamber measuring 6.30 m. × 6 m., with a narrow room 1 m. deep behind it, and on each side

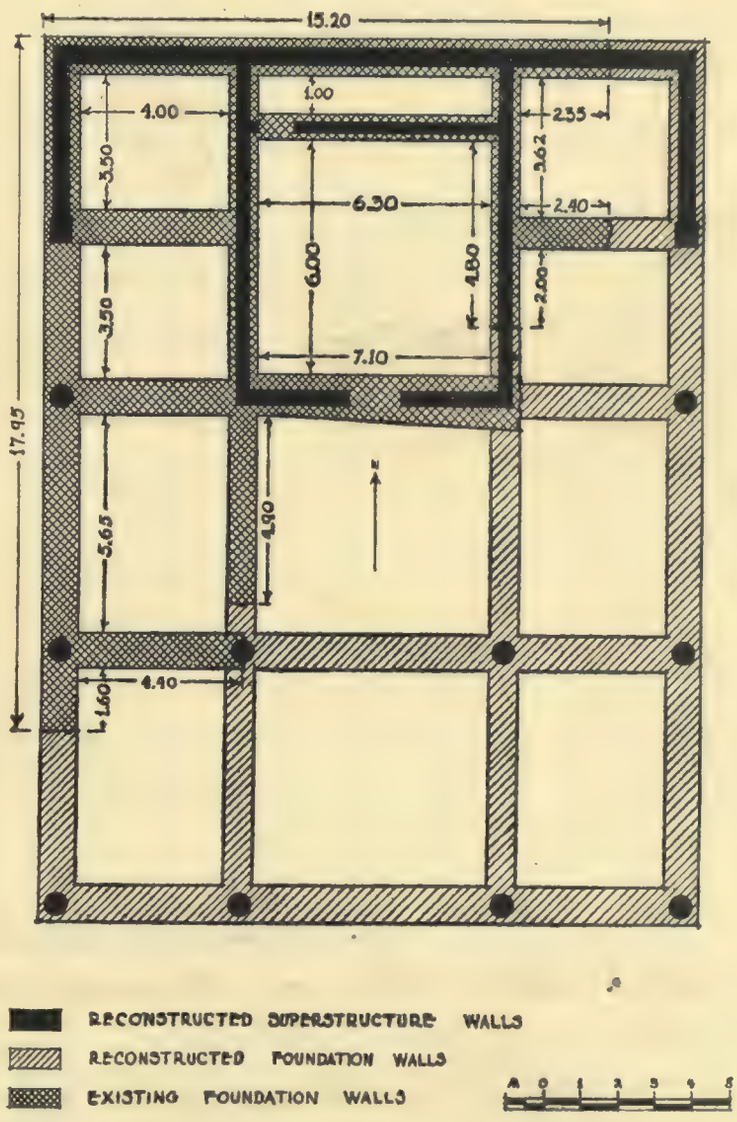

Fig. 5. Temple C at Marzabotto.

[1] *Contributo allo Studio dell'Arce Etrusca di Marzabotto, Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie di Romagna*, Serie IV, xiii, 1923, 69-106.

[2] Since the plans and measurements given by the authorities cited above do not agree, I give here my own plan, drawn on the site. It is however impossible to be completely accurate in this case because of the nature of the construction.

two chambers measuring 4 m. × 3.50 m. The walls are all 0.90 m. — 1 m. in width, except the front wall of the central chamber, which measures 1.10 m. at the west end and widens to 1.40 m. at the other. The front half was evidently arranged on the same system but only its northwest chamber survives. This is 3.80 m. wide and 5.65 m. long. Since the west wall projects 1.60 m. beyond the south wall, there was obviously another chamber here, but what its proportions were it is impossible to say. This is also true of the probable other four chambers of the front half. We can therefore say nothing definite as to the original length of the temple although there are 17.95 m. of the west wall still intact. The width we can give definitely as 18.20 m., of which 15.20 m. still exist. [1]

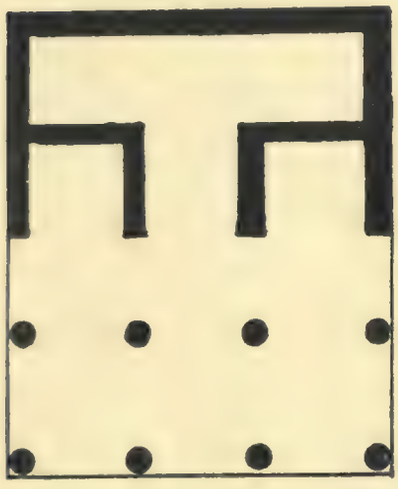

Fig. 6. Marzabotto, Temple C. Plan for a Tuscan temple, suggested by Degering, *Über Etruskischen Tempelbau, Götting. Nachrichten*, 1897, pp. 158-160, fig. 13.

It is plain that the reconstruction of the superstructure of Temple C cannot be detailed, or indeed certain, but we can make out some probable features. The large central room with the wide front wall immediately suggests the cella of a temple. The narrow corridor at the back reminds us of the small stair-space which we sometimes find in this position in other temples. [2] The almost invariable arrangement found on other sites suggests that the cella occupied the rear half of the podium, and therefore the section in front of the wider wall (which was doubtless constructed with greater thickness in order to take the weight of the front wall of the cella) would be the pronaos. In this case we might reconstruct two rows of columns, one placed on the front of the podium, wherever that came, and one between that and the front wall of the cella, on the intersections of the cross walls. This much is plausible and generally accepted. We come now to the moot point of the possible triple cella. It has been customary to assume side cellae over the two chambers on each side of the central cella. This however does not explain the presence of the wall between the two chambers on each side, for the front wall of the side cellae would presumably be level with that of the central cella, that is over the front wall of the second side chamber from the back. Thus any wall over the front wall of the first chamber would come inside the cella, a peculiar and useless arrangement. [3] Degering would explain this feature by assuming that the side cella was only half the length of the central one, covering the second chamber,

[1] These are my own measurements.

[2] *E. g.*, temple of Magna Mater on the Palatine, Capitolium at Pompeii, temple at Florence (see pp. 94-96). The extra walls along the sides of the temple at Alba Fucens (DURM, *op. cit.*, 109, fig. 119, A) may be an adaptation of the same device.

[3] One might think that this was to make an inner shrine within the cella, except that such shrines do not usually occupy half the cella. Moreover they are usually marked by some unsubstantial arrangement such as a grill, and do not require a foundation wall.

while the rear chamber was covered by a room which he calls an *ala* opening sideways into the central cella. He makes this proposal in order to support his theory that the disputed passage of Vitruvius should read (instead of *sive ibi alae*): *et si quae ibi alae*. To consider the question from another angle, however, this palaeographic gymnastic is the only contribution which he can bring to support his proposal. Although, as we have already seen, he attempts to find another example in the temple at Florence, [1] his interpretation of the evidence there is not cogent. If on the other hand we reject this theory we are at a loss to explain the cross wall. Delbrück however presents another possibility, although he does not support it by any arguments. [2] He suggests that we may have here an example of the Italic plan in which there is one cella with columns along the sides while the back wall extends to the outer edge of the podium on each side. In this case we should place a column at each intersection of the foundation walls in the pronaos, and of the outer walls and the cross walls of the foundation at the sides. We should then find that the same function was filled by all the cross walls, namely to supply an additional buttress to the very loose construction at points where extra weight would come. This reconstruction cannot be proved any more than the others, but it has the merit of explaining the peculiar features of the temple without forcing any of the evidence. It is however obvious that a temple of which the reconstruction can only be tentative should not be used as evidence in regard to others except in a most general way. To use these hypothetical arrangements at Marzabotto in support of a theory of the organization of Etruscan religion, as Ducati does, [3] is unsound.

Of the two buildings on the Acropolis which were mentioned above as being in a very ruinous state, one, Temple E, is reconstructed by both Degering [4] and Ducati [5] as having a triple cella. Its construction is of uncut stones similar to those in C. Date, V. century. All that remains of it is a long stretch, 18 m., of the north wall, about 8 m. of the east wall, and stretches of two inner walls at right angles to the north one, 7.20 m. and 9.60 m. respectively in length. The space between the east wall and the first inner wall is larger than that between the first inner one and the second. This discrepancy suggests the relation of side cella to central cella, hence the reconstruction. By using the formula of Vitruvius it appeared feasible to Degering and Ducati to compute the detailed measurements of the temple. As however we find (see the statistical table, below, opp. p. 136) that in actual fact Vitruvius' proportions rarely occur, we cannot accept such a reconstruction without further evidence. It is possible that Temple E had a triple cella, but we cannot definitely say so.

[1] See p. 96.
[2] *Die Drei Tempel am Forum Holitorium*, 39.
[3] *Op. cit.*, 95-106; *Etruria Antica* (1925), i, 95-99.
[4] *Op. cit.*, 160, fig. 14.
[5] *Contributo allo Studio dell'Arce Etrusca di Marzabotto*, 73-74.

FIESOLE

The Zona Archeologica of Fiesole well repays a visit, no matter what one's interests may be. The beauty of the place is in itself sufficient reward for the effort of the trip. It lies in a hollow in the side of the hill between the two heights on which San Domenico is built on the one side, and the main part of the town on the other. The Zona includes theatre and baths, and is bounded on the lowest part of the slope by an impressive stretch of the ancient city wall, which dates from Etruscan times, when Fiesole was an important point on the route to the north. Just inside this wall lies one of the most interesting temples here to be considered. Perhaps the best view of it can be obtained from a point just above the theatre, where it is seen in relation to the surrounding buildings (Pl. 10, Fig. 2). One can see that the temple was built on the slope of the hill, on what was probably an artificial terrace supported by a strong retaining wall. The temple, which faces slightly south of east, lies on the north edge of the terrace. Between it and the upper slope of the hill to the south are the ruins of other buildings evidently closely connected with it. The level of the terrace was reached by a magnificent flight of stairs opposite the temple which is divided into two parts by a landing above the seventh step. Below this the steps rise on all three sides of the landing, which was flanked at one end and probably at the other by a massive pluteus. Between the plutei the steps begin again and reach the terrace. Here was a paved area, to the west of which there appears to have been some sort of portico, some columns of which are still *in situ* along the top of the retaining wall. The temple lay behind the line of this portico, which must have ended before it could obscure the view of the temple from the foot of the steps. It may have been balanced by another portico to the east on the other side of the temple above the retaining wall, but there is no sign of this today.

The outline of the temple becomes quite clear when one comes closer. The back and side walls are almost intact in plan, and the position of the front wall is obvious. The temple was 17.50 m. wide and 18.30 m. long. The inner part was divided, by two longitudinal walls 9. m. long, into a central portion 5.30 m. wide and two side ones each 4 m. wide. These two walls are joined at their ends by a cross wall. In line with them and almost level with the ends of the side walls are two isolated platforms, as it were, of irregularly laid blocks of stone which are broken all round the edges. Thus their exact dimensions cannot be given, but they were obviously intended to support considerable weight. The walls are constructed of large blocks of different sizes, roughly laid with smaller stones filling in the spaces between them. They vary in width from 1 m. to 1.25 m.

These traces indicate a temple of the Italic plan, almost square, with one row of four columns, placed at the ends of the side walls and on the platforms in the middle, in the pronaos. The top of the foundations for the columns gives the lowest possible level for

the floor of the temple, which must therefore have stood on a podium above the level of the terrace. The rough construction of the walls leads me to suppose that they were not intended to be visible. There was probably a facing of more finished work, comparable perhaps to that of the retaining wall. Just in front of the temple at the south corner, there is a section of moulding, probably placed there at a much later time when, as is shown by the presence of barbarian graves between its walls, the building underwent strange alterations. The profile of this moulding suggests the outline often found in the base

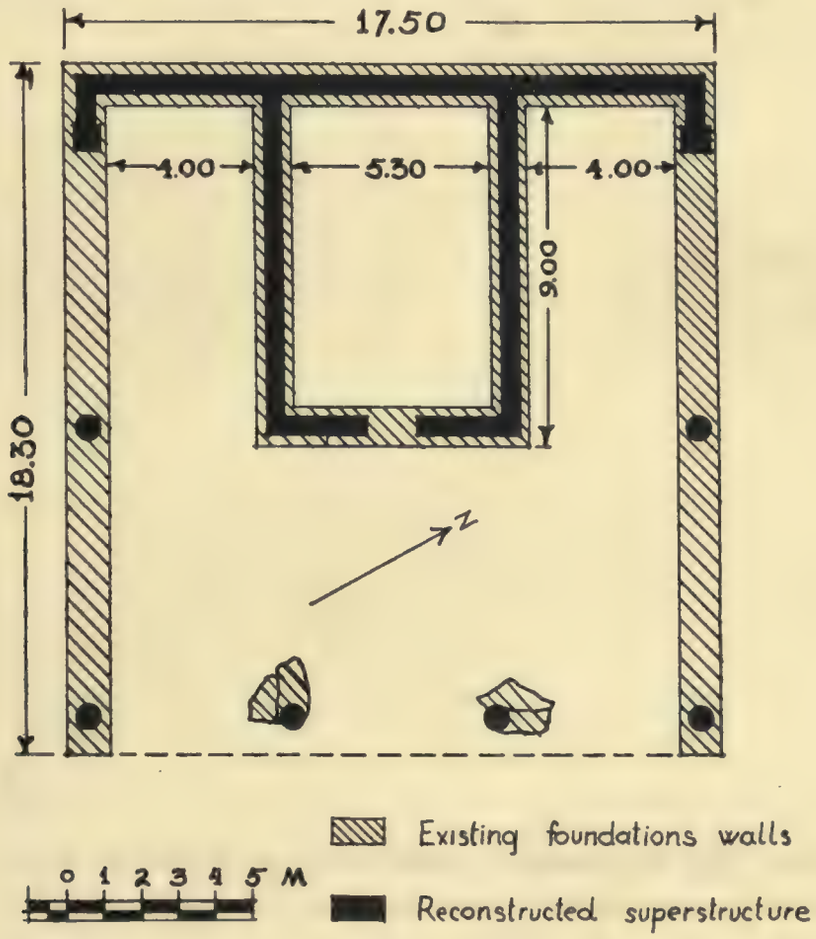

Fig. 7. Temple at Fiesole.

block of the facing of a podium, and may in fact have been part of such a facing on this temple. There are sections of walls from the late period visible within the area of the temple, but their appearance makes it easy to distinguish them from the original structure. The only publication of the temple has been made by Galli in his useful guide to the Scavi and Museum.[1] He does not however go into great detail. Since my observations on the site have led me to differ from his conclusions, I give here my own plan and

[1] *Fiesole, gli Scavi, il Museo Civico* [no date; before 1926]. Two campaigns of excavation were conducted after the publication of this book, and reported by GALLI in *Not. Scavi*, 1925, 28-36 and by A. MINTO, in *Not. Scavi*, 1930, 496-513.

measurements. My reconstruction is also very different from the one suggested by Galli. He regards the retaining wall as the " stylobate " of the temple, and the portico which stood on the wall as part of it. To avoid misrepresenting him I quote his words: *Sulla piattaforma la* cella *doveva essere fiancheggiata da un triplice ordine di porticati a colonne, come dimostrano le tre basi.... riscontrate* in situ *sullo* stilobate *sinistro,... mentre il lato postico rivolto verso il monte ne era forse privo, a somiglianza del tempio etrusco della Triade Capitolina a Roma .... La* cella *ha il perimetro esterno di pianta quadrangolare, ma l'interno è diviso in tre ambienti.... dai due tramezzi.... che partono dalla parete di fondo e si arrestano a circa due terzi della lunghezza dei due laterali. Questi ultimi muri arrivano quasi a toccare la faccia interna degli* stilobati *e formavano le così dette* antae, *mentre lo spazio che rimaneva dinanzi agli altri due interni doveva essere occupato da una specie di* pronaos *composto di due coppie di colonne o pilastri, dei quali rimangono tre solidi basamenti.... Ne risultava quindi un* pronaos tetrastylo in antis. [1] This whole interpretation seems to me impossible. There are also some statements of fact from which I differ. The two inside walls do not form three cellae, but only enclose one. There are no walls which indicate that the spaces on each side of the cella were closed across the front as they would have had to be, nor are there any traces of such cross walls ever having existed. In this connection I may observe that Galli assigns the front wall of the cella to a later period. [2] It is true that part of it is obviously a late filling of a gap in the earlier work, but at least the parts which tie into the side walls seem to me to belong to them structurally and prove that there was always a front wall. The side walls do not seem to me to reach the inner face of the front wall of the portico. The section of wall which is visible in this position opposite the south temple wall has no relation in size to it. Neither can the third foundation of the pillars which he postulates within the pronaos have served this purpose, for if these foundations by their upper surface give the level of the temple floor, and the pronaos extended as far east as this, the podium would rise immediately at the head of the flight of steps which leads to the portico, and there would be no way to reach the inside of the temple. Moreover the steps would lead to the blank face of the podium and be completely useless. The prolongation of the pronaos across the line of the portico is indeed impossible even in Galli's reconstruction, for the solid wall on each side would shut off any entrance from the portico which he places on each side. A peripteral temple in antis is a contradiction in terms. I should rather interpret the third of Galli's pillar foundations as the only remaining vestige of steps which led from the level of the portico to the top of the temple podium. If these covered less than the entire width of the temple they would repeat the design of the first flight of stairs which occupy only a small part of the face of the retaining wall. The massed effect against the slope of the hill might have been quite pleasing. In this connection I suggest as a

[1] *Op. cit.*, 23 f.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 27.

minor detail that the plutei on each side of the steps, which appear to have no function and present a large vacant upper surface, may have carried statues of some sort. Judging from their oblong proportions one might suppose equestrian figures or some four-footed beast like the Chimaera of Arezzo.

There is very little evidence for the date of this temple. Galli assigns the present walls to the latest period of the republic, and thinks that they are a restoration of a far earlier stage of the building.[1] Ducati attributes it to the colonists whom Sulla established at Faesulae after it was practically wiped out in the Social Wars, and thinks that it was a restoration which preserved the form of the earlier period.[2] To this first period are assigned the terra-cotta decorations found in the area, now in the Museo Civico, which are works of the II.-I. century.[3] Both authorities also associate with a restoration in the Sullan period an inscription found near the temple, and now in the Museum, which reads

.. us. l. f. ce.... us. l. f....

.... ciundam. porticus. caulas....[4]

Below the inscription one can see the fragments of two columns one of which has had the flutings filled in, in the Pompeian manner. Their diameters are about 0.75 m.[5] I do not doubt that the Sullan colonists did make very definite additions to Faesulae, and restore many of the buildings including this temple. To this period I should assign the inscription and the columns. I cannot however agree that the walls of the temple as we see them now are of the same period as those of the theatre, which is also considered to be Sullan.[6] The stones of the theatre are smaller and regularly laid. The larger proportions and the careless way in which the stones are laid in the temple seem to me to differentiate the two structures. The face of the retaining wall appears to show the same technique although, as it was intended to be seen, it is more neatly executed. The method of fitting the stones together by placing small stones in the gaps between the large ones is also used in the city wall. These observations suggest to me that the walls are to be referred to the period indicated by the terra-cottas, that is before the Social War. The somewhat archaic flavor also of the outlines of the pluteus on the stairs seems more characteristic of this period, although it might conceivably be later.[7] At the present ground level can be seen inside the temple the upper surfaces of other walls which seem to bear some relation to the present ones. Possibly further excavation might reveal another period.

Galli has identified this as the Capitolium of Faesulae.[8] His chief reason is his assumption that it was a triple-cella temple. We have seen however that his restoration

[1] *Op. cit.*, 20 ff.
[2] *Op. cit.*, 82.
[3] GALLI, *op. cit.*, 132, fig. 122, a; 135, fig. 125; 136, fig. 126.
[4] *Op. cit.*, 134.
[5] *Loc. cit.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 33.
[7] *Cf.* F. STUDNICZKA, *Jhrb. Oest. Arch. Inst.*, vi, 1903, 123-186; H. C. BOWERMAN, *Roman Sacrificial Altars*, 1913, 10-14.
[8] *Op. cit.*, 31 ff.

is unsound. We know that Faesulae did have a Capitolium, for there is in the Museum a cippus of marble bearing the inscription: *[Io]vi O. [M.] Iunoni Reg. Minervae ob restitutionem Capitoli ordo spl. Flor. d. d.*[1] The fragments of a bronze wolf in the style of the last century of the Republic have been associated with the presence of a Capitolium.[2] Both these pieces of evidence however were found on the other side of the town near some bits of Roman wall. The situation of the temple which we have been studying, neither in the centre of the town nor overlooking it, seems very unsuitable for a Capitolium; and in view of the plan which I have reconstructed, I do not think we can so identify it. There is no other evidence for the nature of the cult, and further speculation on the problem seems idle.

CIVITA CASTELLANA

Civita Castellana, the site of the ancient Falerii Veteres, has yielded a rich crop of terra-cotta decorations, of all periods. The fragments now preserved in the Villa Giulia museum are attributed to five different temples.[3] The smallest group of these terra-cottas were found at a place called Celle, scattered among some walls which were naturally taken to be those of a temple. All traces of the buildings adorned by the three other groups either had disappeared before excavation or have disintegrated or been covered up since that time. The one at Celle was published by A. Pasqui in 1886-7[4] in an indefinite report and an apparently inaccurate plan which does not agree with the measurements given in the text. The site is now almost entirely overgrown and the walls seem to have become smaller with the years, so that it is impossible to check the statements of the report. Following the same report Gamurrini proposed an identification of the cult which we shall discuss later.[5]

The site is in a gorge to the northeast of the town. Through this gorge there runs a stream. This seems in time past to have carried away part of the building beyond all hope of reconstruction. What could be seen at the time of the excavation was as follows. Just in front of the cliff at the side of the gorge was an aedicula (I on plan) 8 m. long by about 5 wide. The walls were of ashlar masonry in tufa, one course wide. In the front part of the aedicula was a podium of the same masonry (a on plan) supporting a basis of which only one corner was preserved. Behind this was a rectangular pit in the floor (b on plan), containing votive simpula. The floor in front of the podium was covered with a crude mosaic in black and white, forming a design of squares crossed by diagonals. On the floor were found fragments of decorated terra-cotta slabs. These were doubtless

[1] *C.I.L.*, xi, 1545.
[2] Galli, *op. cit.*, 82-84.
[3] Della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia*, i, 166-205.
[4] *Not. Scavi*, 1886, 8; 1887, 92-100.
[5] *Not. Scavi*, 1887, 101-107.

wall decorations. Outside and behind this shrine was a small tank (c on plan) connected with a cuniculus cut in the cliff. At the right side of the shrine, at a point level with the podium inside, two small walls (d on plan) ran out at right angles to the side wall. Near the podium was found a female head carved in tufa, of very crude workmanship, dated by Della Seta in the VI. century.[1] With this were fragments of the bronze *stephane* which belonged to it, and a bronze spear head. Immediately in front of this shrine and at a slightly lower level was a platform (*platea*) (II on plan) of tufa ashlar masonry. Along its edge (judging from the report and plan) parallel with the cliff, ran a massive wall (III on plan) of the same construction, 3 m. wide, with 3 blocks to a course. The blocks

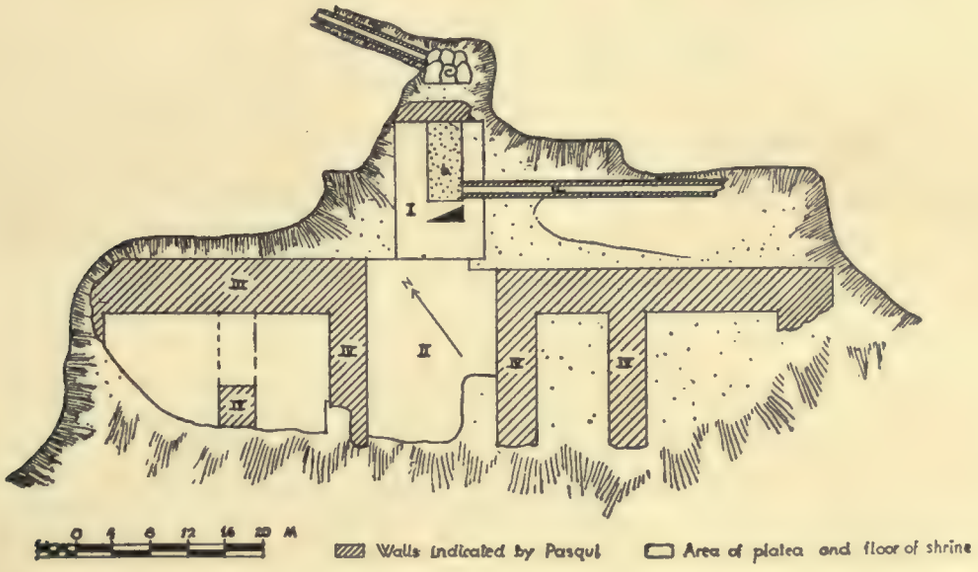

Fig. 8. Building at Civita Castellana
Based on plan and measurements given by Pasqui, *Not. Scavi*, 1887, pl. ii, fig. 2.

were 0.95 m. long and 0.56 high. The wall was 43 m. long and was preserved in some places up to the fourth course, which would give it a height of about 2 m. At each end a short projection at right angles to the wall and of the same width was interpreted by Pasqui as an anta. Judging by the plan, however, I should think one could not determine, from what remained, the original length of these projections. Forming right angles with the main wall are four smaller walls (IV on plan) which divide the area in front of it into five parts, of which the two outer ones and the central one are each 7 m. wide and the two remaining ones 4 m. These smaller walls are 2 m. wide and the best preserved appears to be about 7 m. long. The central division is opposite, but not quite on the same axis as, the shrine. One could pass from one to the other by a step up from the lower level. Throughout this area terra-cotta revetments were discovered which show that the building passed through both the archaic and the Hellenistic phases.

[1] *Op. cit.*, 201.

These are the remains on the evidence of which Pasqui reconstructed a temple. He was impressed, not unnaturally, by the four inner walls which seem to form the three cellae of a Tuscan temple as described by Vitruvius. The space left on each side of the cellae he interpreted as a colonnade such as is found in the Italic plan. To support this view he draws an analogy with the plan of the Capitolium as described by Dionysius, and then reconstructs the temple according to the formulae given by Vitruvius. This gives him a length of about 50 m. [1] He assumes a hexastyle temple, requiring intercolumniations (falling on the axes of the cella walls) alternating between 9.5 m. and 6 m. The intercolumniations along the side would have to be left undetermined even with the aid of Vitruvius. Degering follows this restoration and produces a plan, but gives no measurements with it. [2] Its most striking feature is that the side cellae, even allowing for a very thick front wall, are more than four times as long as they are broad. Aside from the peculiarly ungraceful effect which this produces, we must remember that according to Vitruvius their length should be only twice their width. [3] Durm gives a plan with measurements in which he reproduces Degering's reconstruction. [4] He objects to it, however, claiming that 43 m. is impossibly wide, and he constructs a smaller temple with three cellae but without the extra colonnade. His grounds for this are, first, that the revetments indicate an architrave 0.64 m. high and that this would be too small in proportion to a pediment 43 m. across; secondly, that the alternating width of the intercolumniations produces *ein architektonisch haltloses Gebilde.* His temple is only 23 m. broad and about 27 m. long. This produces cellae of the correct Vitruvian proportions but does not explain the ten extra meters of back wall left over on each side. Plainly neither of these reconstructions is satisfactory.

Before we consider any other possible reconstruction let us take up the identification of the cult. Gamurrini in his appendix to the original report suggested that this was the temple of Juno Curritis, the famous goddess of Falerii, with a very convincing summary of the evidence. [5] The most valuable notice from antiquity about this cult is Ovid's description of its festival in the *Amores*, III, 13. He says that in a dense and gloomy grove reached by a steep and difficult path there was a roughly built ancient altar. To this spot came a procession to perform the rites of the festival. Just such an altar is described by Gamurrini as having been found further along the stream, in the narrowest part of the gorge. Anyone who has picked his way down the precipitous and slippery way to the stream can well imagine the reactions of the urbane Ovid, as he followed his Faliscan wife, perhaps already composing in his mind the line (6):

difficilis clivis huc via praebet iter.

[1] Taking the width as 43 m. and applying the proportion of 5:6, it should actually be 51.60.

[2] *Op. cit.*, 157, fig. 11.

[3] Width of whole = 5 parts, length of whole = 6 parts, length of cellae = 3 parts, width of side cellae = 3/10 of total width = 1.5 parts.

[4] *Op. cit.*, 106, fig. 116.

[5] *Not. Scavi*, 1887, 101-107.

He does not, we must notice, mention any temple. Dionysius mentions the cult and compares it to the one at the Argive Heraeum.[1] His words have been taken to imply a likeness in the actual structures of the temple. His phraseology however seems to me to suggest rather a general likeness in the whole sanctuary and the manner in which the cult was conducted. In the account of the Heraeum given by Pausanias[2] we can note only one feature which is also certainly present at Falerii. He speaks of the Water of Freedom used by the women of the sanctuary for purification and the secret rites. The water-works so carefully connected with the building at Falerii must have had some such sacred significance. Dionysius does use the word νεώς but this might apply simply to the small shrine. The literary evidence agrees perfectly with the nature of the finds: the head of the goddess in the shrine, and the bronze spear-head.[3] The *stips votiva* also indicates that there was worshipped here a goddess of healing, a guise in which we often meet Juno. The water which was apparently so important in the cult may have been considered to possess some healing property. The simpula found in the shrine may have been dedicated by those who used them for some ritual purpose, perhaps for drawing the water.

We see then that we can identify the cult observed in this spot almost certainly, but that this external evidence supplies no indication that there was actually a large temple here. If it had been exactly like the Capitolium as Degering and Delbrück,[4] following Pasqui, believe, we can hardly imagine that Dionysius, who was after all greatly interested in the Capitolium, would have likened the Faliscan shrine to the Argive Heraeum and not mentioned the closer parallel in Rome itself. Moreover Ovid's silence on the subject certainly suggests that there was no true temple connected with the cult. Can we however present any more satisfactory solution to the problem raised by these fragmentary walls? I believe it possible to offer one which, while it can be demonstrated no more than any of the others, suits all the evidence and does not involve any structural peculiarities.

There are two possible ways of interpreting the walls if the building is to be regarded as a temple. They might be either the walls of the cellae or they might be the foundation walls within the podium. If the latter interpretation is accepted, the presence of the *platea* under the podium must also be explained. As a general rule, in the early temples of Italy the foundations are carried a little below ground level, but a foundation as elaborate as this structure at Falerii would be very uncommon. Vitruvius recommends that the foundation walls inside a temple podium should be carried down to solid ground but

[1] I, 21, 2, *Πάντων δὲ περιφανέστατον μνημεῖον τῆς ἐν Ἄργει ποτ' οἰκήσεως τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκείνων οἳ τοὺς Σικελοὺς ἐξήλασαν, ὁ τῆς Ἥρας νεὼς ἐν Φαλερίῳ κατεσκευασμένος ὡς ἐν Ἄργει· ἔνθα καὶ τῶν θυηπολιῶν ὁ τρόπος ὅμοιος ἦν, καὶ γυναῖκες ἱεραὶ θεραπεύουσαι τὸ τέμενος ἥ τε λεγομένη κανηφόρος ἁγνὴ γάμων παῖς καταρχομένη τῶν θυμάτων χοροί τε παρθένων ὑμνουσῶν τὴν θεὸν ᾠδαῖς πατρίοις.*

[2] ii, 17, 1: *Μυκηνῶν δὲ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ πέντε ἀπέχει καὶ δέκα στάδια τὸ Ἡραῖον. ῥεῖ δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὕδωρ, Ἐλευθέριον καλούμενον· χρῶνται δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς καθάρσια αἱ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἐς τὰς ἀποῤῥήτους* (as emended in modern editions).

[3] *Not. Scavi*, 1887, 95.

[4] *Die Drei Tempel am Forum Holitorium*, 39 f.

adds that if the site is marshy a preliminary foundation of piles on which the podium may rest may be advisable.[1] We have here a parallel to the *platea* with the difference that at Falerii the *platea* appears to have been of solid stone and not of piles. It is conceivable that the closeness of the river necessitated the extreme solidity of the foundations. It is then possible to regard the walls as component parts of the podium. Can we equally well take them to be the walls of the superstructure? There are two difficulties here, both indicated in Pasqui's plan. There is no sign of any back wall in the central cella, the breadth of which is not completely blocked by the narrower shrine; and the right and left hand sections of the back wall are not in line. Both these peculiarities are incompatible with the arrangement of a superstructure. A small irregularity can be disguised in the construction of a podium but not in upper walls, while a seven-meter gap in the back wall of the main cella is impossible.

If then we are to regard the building as a temple we must take the walls to be part of the podium. This interpretation, however, leads us into another difficulty. The shrine is, according to Pasqui's report, only a step higher than the level of the *platea*. This means that the shrine would be on a level with the podium instead of the superstructure and would have to be approached by way of a "*favissa*" of some sort. This in itself seems a highly improbable arrangement when we consider that the shrine was outside the main building, not incorporated in it, as is the case for instance in the lower sanctuary of the Erechtheum. Moreover, the idea that the shrine, which was apparently the central point of the cult, could have been placed in so undignified a position and made into a mere excrescence at the back of the podium is very hard to accept.

We see then that it is equally difficult to interpret the walls either as part of the superstructure or of the podium. Another fact that casts doubt on such a reconstruction is the apparent absence of the *platea* in the space allotted to the right side cella and portico. As, however, this peculiarity is not commented upon by Pasqui and is only suggested by his plan, it is not safe to base any conclusions upon it. It is none the less a further detail which militates against the temple hypothesis.

Taking these structural incongruities together with the lack of literary evidence, I think we may safely suggest that this building was not a temple. If, however, we are then faced with the necessity of deciding what it actually was, the situation becomes more complicated. The present state of the building leaves us almost completely in the dark. On the basis of the few walls left, one can work out many reconstructions, all equally unsubstantiated. A suggestion as to the nature of the construction may however be of some value.

We know from many sources[2] that one of the most characteristic features of Italic religion was the open air sanctuary. We read of one deity after another to whom a

[1] iii, 4.

[2] Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 2. ed., 1912, 469 f.

"*lucus*" was sacred. In the earliest times in all probability the sanctuary consisted simply of the grove. With the introduction of cult objects and later images, a building became necessary. An *aedicula* would be erected and the area would be fenced in. Such sanctuaries have actually been found. One of the most famous was the one on the peak of the Alban Mount sacred to Jupiter Latiaris. Little can be seen there now, but M. S. de Rossi produced a convincing restoration from the results of his own excavations supplemented by those from the XVIII. century.[1] There was here a large paved area, 48 × 65 m., approached by steps which flanked the longer side and surrounded by a great wall; there were an altar, an aedicula and a well. At Orvieto there was found in the necropolis what appears to have been a sanctuary with no covered shrine at all:[2] it consisted of a broad terrace with a retaining wall behind it. Here stood a cult statue, now in the Orvieto Museum, beside a tank fed with water by a channel from behind the wall. At both Bolsena[3] and Alfedena[4] were found sanctuaries surrounded by simple porticoes. At Alfedena the shrine stood in the centre of the area and in one corner of the portico was a room leading to the outer world which the report assigns to the janitor. At Bolsena there was a small room which probably served as a sanctuary in one corner of the portico.

I would like to suggest that we have here a structure of the same type, the details of which have been obscured. The little shrine is plain enough. The large walls may have been part of a portico. The irregularity in the line of the back wall suggests, however, that there were two similar structures built at different times. Again, the walls may have formed dwelling quarters, for Dionysius's description of the cult, referred to above, indicates that there were priestesses in constant attendance, while if Juno Curritis was a goddess of healing it must have been necessary to provide quarters for the sick who came to be cured.

LANUVIO

Somewhat below the crest of the hill on the lower slopes of which stands Lanuvio there is a terrace which looks out over the Roman Campagna. On this site there were excavated by A. Pasqui in 1914 the ruins of an ancient temple. They were subsequently published by G. Bendinelli, in a detailed report.[5] In 1928 another discussion of them was published by Don Alberto Galieti.[6] Plans and detailed restorations of the temple have been drawn up by Mr. Colin Oakes of the British School in Rome and will shortly

[1] *Ann. d. Inst.*, 1873, 162-167, pl. RS; 1876, 314-333, pl. Q. *Cf.* G. Giovannoni, *Not. Scavi*, 1912, 382-384.

[2] *Not. Scavi*, 1885, 33-39, pls. ii-v. *Cf.* G. Körte, *Eine altgriechische Statuette der Aphrodite*, in *Arch. Studien*, in honour of H. Brunn, 1-34; and further references *ap.* Chr. Blinkenberg, *Knidia*, Copenhagen, 1933, 209-212.

[3] E. Gabrici, *Mon. Ant.*, xvi, 1906, 169-240.

[4] V. De Amicis, *Not. Scavi*, 1902, 516-525.

[5] *Mon. Ant.*, xxvii, 1921, 293-370.

[6] *Bull. Comm.*, lvi, 1928, 75-118, 199-249.

be published in the *Papers* of that institution. A few of the terra-cottas are discussed by Della Seta in the catalogue of the Villa Giulia Museum, [1] but most of them are in the British Museum, where they were taken when they were found by Lord Savile in 1884-1892. [2] They have been exhibited there in a reconstruction of the original superstructure. [3] In the same case in the Museum is a plan of the temple by Phene Spiers which bears no relation to its present state.

Relatively little of the actual superstructure was found in the excavation, but what was discovered has been admirably maintained, and as all the essential features are still there it is easy to reconstruct the plan with almost certain accuracy. [4] The temple faced slightly north of west and stood on the edge of the narrow terrace. This location was unfortunate, for a large portion of the south side of the temple has disappeared over the edge of the terrace which has been washed away during the course of the centuries. Luckily however this was a longitudinal portion and can be restored on the analogy of the other side. The walls are all of ashlar masonry of well-cut blocks of the peperino native to the Alban hills. Anathyrosis is used freely. The faces of the lower courses were left rough, but the upper ones were carefully dressed. At the south side, where the hill slopes off sharply, the foundations are several courses deeper than on the level ground.

The angle formed by the north and east walls is preserved. Of the former there still exist 23.80 m. [5] and of the latter 15.40 m. Both are 1.45 m. thick. From the east wall spring two shorter parallel walls, obviously those of the cella, both about 0.60 m. thick and about 6.50 m. apart. Between the cella and the north wall is a space of 4.80 m. The north cella wall is at present, being incompletely preserved, 8.60 m. long and the south one 10.40 m. At a right angle to the west end of the latter a short wall, 1 m. thick and 2.20 m. long, marks the front wall of the cella. In line with the side cella walls, at a distance of 5.40 m. from the front of the cella, are two square blocks of masonry, about 2 m. on a side. These were obviously foundations for columns. The position of the front wall of the temple is given by a portion which measures about 1.60 m. by 1.75 m., which is found at a point about 1 m. west of the present end of the north wall, and about 2.40 m. to the south.

From these remains there can be restored a temple 26.40 m. long by 20 m. wide, tetrastyle with a front intercolumniation of 6.30, and a pronaos 14.55 m. deep containing two rows of columns with a lateral intercolumniation of about 7 m. Although Bendinelli first assumed that the cella was triple, Galieti has pointed out that this is impossible as there

[1] Pp. 230-232.

[2] See bibliography *apud* BENDINELLI, *op. cit.*, 297.

[3] Reproduced by Banister Fletcher, *History of Architecture*, 9th. ed. (1931), 140.

[4] I wish to acknowledge here the kindness of Don Alberto Galieti, who more than once acted as my guide in Lanuvio and gave me the inestimable advantage of his intimate knowledge of the site.

[5] The measurements and plan here given are based on the plans drawn by Mr. Oakes, with whom I had the pleasure of collaborating on the reconstruction of the temple.

are no traces of the front walls of the side cellae. Not only are they themselves completely missing but there is no evidence in the side walls that any others were ever bonded into them. This is then another example of the Italic plan. Since the intercolumniation does

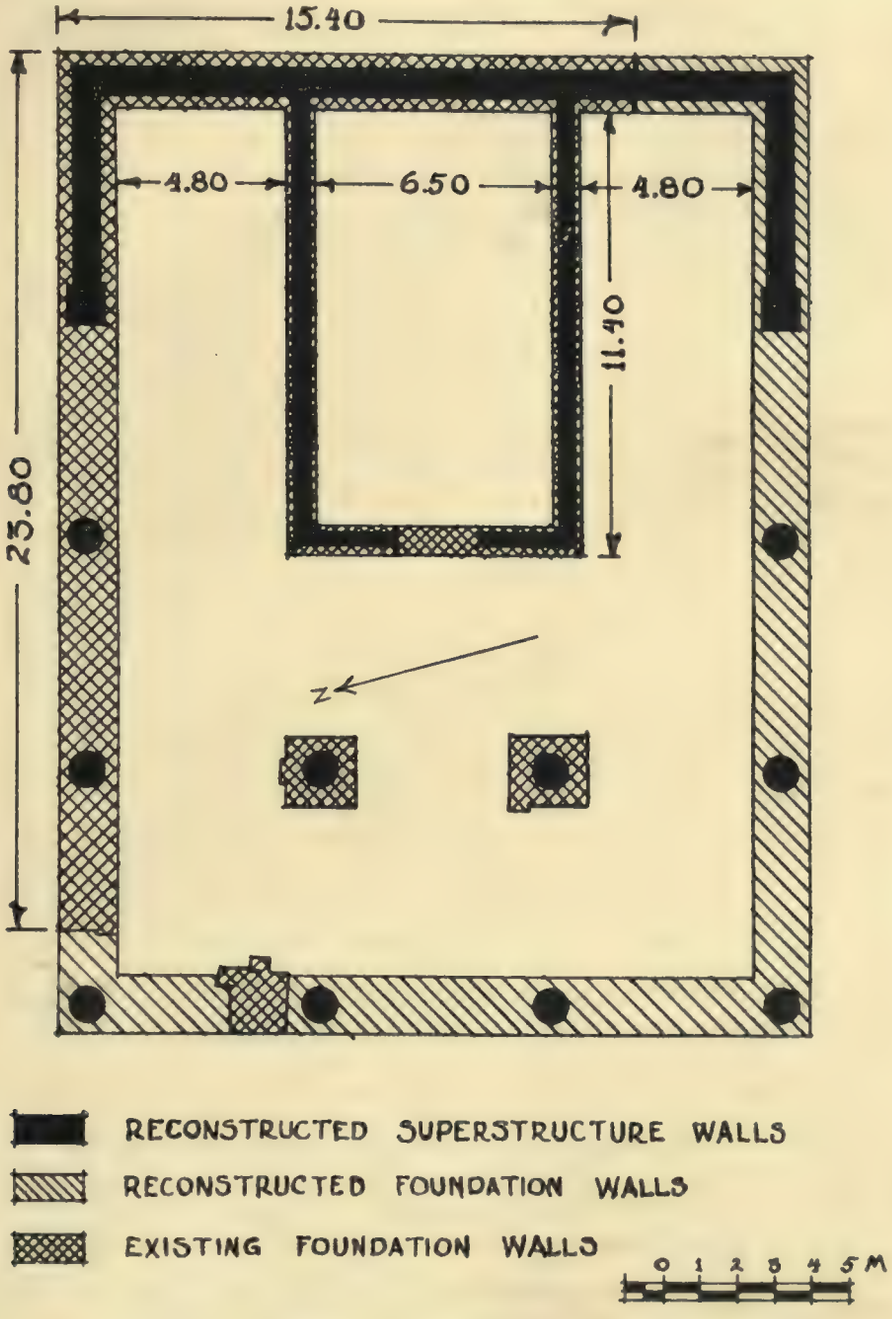

Fig. 9. Temple of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium
Based on measurements supplied by C. Oakes.

not allow four columns down the sides we may restore three, and let the back wall make a returning angle finished off with an anta at the point reached by the third intercolumniation. The result is an "*ala*" about 2.40 m. deep. The date of the temple of Lanuvio has been argued to lie anywhere from the IV. to the late I. century B.C. Bendinelli bases his preference for an early date on a comparison of the moulding of the podium with

the same feature of the temple at Gabii, which is obviously later. Since the temple at Gabii is dated in the second century, he feels that the one at Lanuvio must be assigned to the third, or may be even earlier, possibly built in 338 B. C. when Lanuvium came under the hegemony of Rome. Galieti however would date it in the Augustan period on the evidence of terra-cottas which he wishes to assign to this late time. He considers that the construction is far too good to be earlier. The terra-cottas however range from the late sixth century to the time of the Empire, so that all we can prove from them is that there were several different periods in the history of the cult. This we might have known without their help, as there are within the present walls of the temple remains of construction, column foundations and steps, which are obviously earlier than the developed ashlar masonry of the present temple. Bendinelli wished to consider them as due to later reconstruction, but this is impossible. The structure then has no peculiar features by which it can be dated within narrower limits. One more piece of evidence however has come to light since the two above-cited articles were written. Temple C at the Largo Argentina [1] has a podium moulding which, although on a larger scale, is almost exactly like the one at Lanuvium. Both have for a cornice a very simple Lesbian cyma, and no base moulding. The only decoration at the base is a slight projection of the face of the lowest course. In both cases the faces of the blocks in the walls are left visible instead of being hidden by an orthostate block between the cornice and base moulding, such as is found in the temple at Gabii and the rectangular temple at Tivoli. The ground plan of Temple C is also very similar to the one with which we are dealing, and the character of the masonry seems to be related, although the Roman style is more finished. Taking all the elements into consideration, I should think that it is not unlikely that both these temples belong to the third century. I cannot agree with Galieti that work of such simplicity is consistent with the taste of the early empire.

Galieti's identification of the cult, however, seems to me almost certain. The most famous cult of Lanuvium, which endured late into the Empire, was that of Juno Sospita Mater Regina; it would have been natural that so admirable a location should have been chosen for the shrine of so famous a goddess. Bendinelli sought to identify it as the Capitolium of the town under the impression that the cella was triple. Since this however is not so, it is more reasonable to suppose that this actually was the temple of Juno. As Galieti has pointed out, the chthonian character of the stips found in the area of the temple supports his identification.

[1] G. Marchetti-Longhi, *Bull. Comm.*, lx, 1932, 280-306.

POMPEII, CAPITOLIUM

In the days when Pompeii was a living town the Forum must have been dominated, as it is today, by the great temple which stands high on its lofty podium at the north end of the long open area. The whole temple is of great interest, and in particular one can visualize the appearance of its interior when actually in use. The superstructure from the exterior presents the appearance of a hexastyle prostyle temple, with four columns on each side of the pronaos. Inside the cella, close to the wall on each side, is a row of small Ionic columns, which doubtless supported another series of columns, perhaps of the Corinthian order. At the back of the cella stands a high podium which served as statue-base; its proportions are adapted to three statues, and its interior is divided into three small rooms, like cupboards and doubtless intended for much the same purpose.[1] Across the width of the cella behind the back wall, runs a narrow passage entered by a door which was masked by the last column of the row on the left. This surely contained a wooden staircase leading to a higher level, probably the top of the podium on which the cult statues stood. The temple as it exists today has been identified as the Capitolium both by the triple division of the statue-base and by the fragments of cult statues, the colossal head of Jupiter, and an inscription, found in or near the cella.[2]

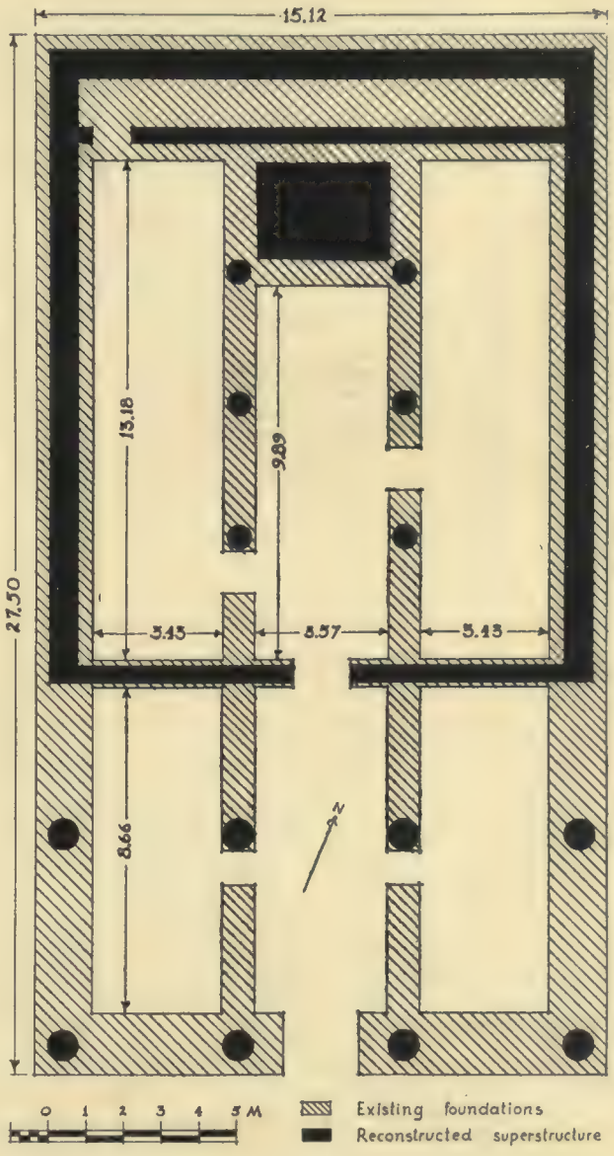

Fig. 10. Capitolium at Pompeii
Based on plan of the foundations given by Sogliano, *Il Foro di Pompei, Mem. dell'Accad. Naz. d. Lincei, Cl. di Scienze Morali*, Serie VI, Vol. i (1925), 232, fig. 3 A.

Our present interest in this building however lies not in the cella but in the foundations. These have been published, on the basis of measurements taken by Ingegnere

[1] R. SCHULTZE, *Basilica* (1928), 33 f., suggests that the chamber beneath the so-called *tribunal* of the Basilica at Pompeii, which has points of resemblance to the structure which we are now considering, was a strong-room protected by religious veneration.

[2] A. W. VAN BUREN, *MAAR.*, ii, 1918, 68-70; v, 1925, 103 f., for these details.

L. Jacono, by A. Sogliano,[1] who sees in them an original triple-cella temple. He deals only with the earliest foundations which were incorporated in the larger temple. I cannot do better than to follow his description. "The oldest foundations.... are contained in a rectangle measuring 27.50 by 15.12 m. and consist of three adjacent corridors or galleries with round vaults of massive *opus incertum* containing chiefly Sarno stone and stone of Vesuvius; these corridors are divided into six rooms by a transverse wall, the central corridor is 3.57 m. wide and the side ones 3.43 m. The length of the first three rooms, which communicate with each other by means of two intermediary doors,... is 8.66 m. Of the three remaining rooms, the length of the central one is 9.89, that of the side ones is 13.18 m. The thickness of the external longitudinal walls is 1.51 m., that of the inner longitudinal walls is 0.82 m. The thickness of the front wall at the south... is 1.65 m. The thickness... of the central cross wall which divides into two parts all three corridors is 0.69 m. The communicating doors of the front rooms are 0.96 m. wide and those of the back rooms are 1.10 m.". The back wall according to his plan is 3.30 m. thick. The back and front rooms communicate only by a door between the central rooms. There is a solid wall between the side rooms. The foundations are now entered by a door in the east side; but originally there was one in the centre of the front wall, which was blocked by the front wall of the later period. In the vaults which roof the rooms, holes are pierced for air and light. Some of these are vertical, but three are set at an angle. These pierce at the same time the top of the transverse wall which separates the back and front rooms, and the vault of the roof above the wall. The one in the central room is at a much more acute angle than the other two in the side rooms, so that, if in imagination the line of its angle were prolonged to the point at which it emerged in the original superstructure, the top of the aperture in the upper wall would be only a few centimetres above the level of the floor. If the same process were repeated with the apertures in the two side rooms they would reach a distance of 0.20 m. above the bottom of the wall. In the floor of the substructures there is sunk into the ground a wall nearly a meter wide, which is exactly on the axis of the temple and consequently of the whole forum. Sogliano considers that this wall was placed there in order to give the exact orientation according to the rules of augury. It seems simpler to assume that it was placed there before the temple was built, to mark the axis of the Forum so that of the temple should agree with it. The line of the wall is not true north and south but a number of degrees west of north.[2]

Sogliano's reconstruction of the original temple based on these foundations places the back of the cellae at the back of the central corridor in the substructure, the front wall

[1] *Il Foro di Pompei, Acc. L. Mem.*, Ser. VI, i, 1925, 230-239. I have used these measurements throughout.

[2] Of this wall, A. IPPEL, *Röm. Mitt.*, xlvi, 1931, 297, says: *Die Vermutung liegt nahe, dass diese von der eigentlichen Konstruktion des Tempels völlig unabhängige Mauer vielmehr mit der Limitation zusammenhängt. So kommt jener unscheinbaren, tiefverborgenen Mauer vielleicht noch einmal eine sehr wichtige Rolle zu.*

of the cellae over the transverse wall, and leaves the front rooms to be the foundation of the pronaos. The temple would have been prostyle with two rows of four columns with equal intercolumniations, placed on the longitudinal foundation walls. Then as now there would have been only one door into the cella. This he ingeniously and irrefutably proves by the evidence of the air holes in the roof of the foundations which on each side reach a height which could not have been masked by a step, as the lower one in the centre could. Since, then, the side cellae would have been inaccessible if they were to be shut off from the central cella by solid walls, he divides them from it simply by columns, in line with two short walls like antae at right angles to the back wall. These columns would be placed on the inner longitudinal foundation walls. He prefers this arrangement to the equally possible doors placed in dividing walls which would shut off the side cellae; because if such doors were placed, as they would have had to be, over the openings in the corresponding foundation walls, they would not be opposite each other and the effect would be asymmetrical. He sees a reflection of this original arrangement in the columns now in the cella. He also reconstructs in front of the temple a flight of steps supported on an arch to allow access to the inner rooms by means of the door cut in the front wall of the podium. This reconstruction leaves an unoccupied area behind the cella 6.61 m. deep. Here Sogliano places small rooms to serve as store rooms, covered by a hip roof.[1]

It is this hip roof which seems the most debatable point in this reconstruction, which moreover leaves unexplained the strange facts that the side rooms in the foundations are more than 3 m. longer than the central room and that the back wall is more than 3 m. thick. I cannot believe that this extra length was allowed simply in order to support the back rooms as Sogliano suggests. On the other hand I have never seen a triple-cella temple in which the central cella was shorter than the side ones, as it would have had to be here if we had followed the lines given by the back walls of the rooms in the substructure. We must find some other and more satisfactory solution for the interior of the cella. Sogliano has definitely proved that there was only one door to the inner part of the temple. This would logically indicate that there was only one cella. In fact to call his arrangement "triple-cella" at all is a misuse of terms. No matter how a room is divided by pillars it remains one room until one part is actually separated from another by a partition. If however we change our phraseology and regard the whole cella as one room, and place the back wall at the back of the side corridors, we find that we have one cella which is almost square, with a solid block of masonry measuring 5.30 m. × 3.50 m. projecting from the back wall. Since the width of the cella would be rather large to span, we must place columns on the inner longitudinal walls of the

[1] He justifies this type of roof by his interpretation of that much-contested passage in Vitruvius (iv, 7, 5) which reads: *Supraque eum fastigium, columen, cantherii, templa ita sunt conlocanda, ut stillicidium tecti absoluti tertiario respondeat.*

foundations to support the roof beams. We are left with the projecting block of masonry and the thick back wall to explain. An almost exact parallel is to be seen in the temple of Magna Mater on the Palatine. Here the back wall however is double with a space 1.80 m. wide between the two parts. It is obvious that the function of the projecting block in the Palatine temple was to support the pedestal of the cult statue, and it seems more than probable that the double back wall contained a staircase. We know that such a double wall existed in the later temple at Pompeii, and we are, I think, justified in assuming that the thick back wall of the podium supported one in the earlier period. That the block of masonry at Pompeii supported the base of the cult statue seems equally probable. Such a disposal of the cella with interior columns is not common in Roman temples but is frequently found in Greek ones. The proportions of the temple which measures 27.50 m. × 15.12 m. are much more suggestive of the Greek emphasis on the length than of the tendency toward more nearly square proportions characteristic of Republican Italy. The combination of Greek features with the characteristically Roman pronaos is typical of Pompeii. It may be seen in the Apollo temple, which, although it is actually peripteral, has a pronaos which for depth is comparable to that of a prostyle temple.

We have already said that the cult of the temple in its latest phase was undoubtedly the worship of the Capitoline Triad. Was this always so? I do not believe so, and I think that there is very strong evidence for this in one of the peculiar features of the present superstructure. We have seen above that the columns inside the cella are placed above the vaults. In the earlier temple the interior columns must have been placed on the foundation walls, so that they were just beyond the edge of the base of the cult statue. In the later arrangement we find the same feature. The last columns of each row stand beside the podium for the statues. But the columns have been moved considerably to the side. This would not have been necessary if the dimensions of the statue-base had remained as they were originally: but if the base was widened, the columns would then have obstructed the view of it. They would have had to be moved, and, as it happened, the result was in accord with the taste of the period. Why should one enlarge a statue-base which was already of excellent proportions, unless one needed more space on the top to accommodate more statues? I suggest, as an explanation, that the temple in its original form was dedicated to Jupiter alone, but that when Pompeii became a Roman colony under Sulla, the cults of Juno Regina and Minerva were added. The temple thus became a Capitolium. This change agrees not only with the structural evidence but with that of the material as well, for the use of Sarno stone and lava in the original foundations indicates a period prior to the Roman colony, although I do not think that the vaulting found in them will allow one to carry the date very far back. The superstructure, with its interior obviously adapted to the accommodation of the Capitoline Triad, seems to be lon to the Sullan period.

CONCLUSION

We have now discussed in detail all the temples which have at any time been published as examples of the triple-cella type. They form a group of thirteen. Of these we have seen that seven can certainly be considered genuine examples of the type; namely: those at Florence, Orvieto, Rome, Veii, Segni, Terracina, and Minturnae. Three more are actually examples of the Italic plan; these are: Temple C at Marzabotto, and those at Fiesole and Lanuvio. Of the remaining three, the Capitolium at Pompeii seems always to have been a prostyle temple, Temple E at Marzabotto is so badly preserved that it is impossible to make any safe statements about its plan, while the structure at Falerii was probably not a temple at all. The data afforded by these temples can be supplemented by several other Republican temples which have the Italic plan. Of these the best preserved is Temple C in the Largo Argentina; others are the north temple in the Forum Holitorium, the temple of Venus Genetrix in the Forum Julium, and the temples at Aricia, Gabii, and Paestum.[1]

We can now proceed to the consideration of the main problem with which this paper is concerned: the relation of the formula given by Vitruvius (see above, pages 89-92) to the data supplied by the temples. This formula occurs in the passage (*loc. cit.*) in which Vitruvius first defines the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian styles and then gives a short chapter on the Tuscan order. The most significant specifications given by Vitruvius are clear enough. The breadth was to be to the length as 5 to 6, the width of the side cellae (or alae) to the width of the central cella as 3 to 4, and the length of the pronaos (or cella) to the total length as 1 to 2. In the pronaos there were to be two interior rows of columns arranged so as to be in line with the walls of the cellae, which would involve a central intercolumniation one-third wider than the others. Unfortunately we cannot tell just how Vitruvius took the measurements on which he based his proportions. Did he, for example, measure from the outer edge of one wall to the outer edge of the other or did he take the interaxial distances? In the proportions which include the whole temple this problem is not vital, but in the relation between the cellae it is important, because the variation in thickness between the inner and outer walls makes the proportions differ according to the way in which they are measured. For this reason I have included in the subsequent discussion measurements taken both ways.

Of the temples listed above, we find that we have eight which can supply us with information on all the specifications given by Vitruvius; namely: those at Fiesole, Orvieto,

[1] For bibliography on temples see Appendix II.

The most perfect example of the "Italic plan" which is available for study is not a temple but the *Tomba Ildebranda* at Sovana, assigned to the end of the III. or the beginning of the II. century B. C. Since however the proportions of this monument must have been influenced by the medium in which it was executed, they cannot be taken as reliable data. See R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Sovana*, Florence, 1929, 71, 73, 75-100, pls. xviii-xxvi. His whole discussion of *Tombe a tempio*, pp. 70-100, 111-113, may be read with profit. See also A. Gargana, *Mon. Ant.*, xxxiii, 1929, 435; and E. Böhringer, *Jahrb. d. Inst.*, xliv, 1929, *Anz.*, 77-79.

Segni, Terracina, Lanuvio, the two periods in the temple at Florence, and Temple C at the Argentina. The other examples can provide supplementary details for at least one specification. For the sake of brevity and clarity I have compiled the proportions of the temples in a table (opposite). They are given here both in their actual figures and also in the relation in which they stand to the three proportions required by Vitruvius. One can thus see at a glance how closely the proportions of each temple agree with the formula. For purposes of comparison I have included in this table as many Italic temples of other types but of the same period, as I have been able to find, which can supply us with similar measurements. A bibliography of these temples will be found in Appendix II.

A study of the table of proportions leads to several conclusions. The most important is that the actual facts never agree exactly with the formula, although they frequently approximate it.[1] The divergence is most marked in the proportion of the length to the breadth. The breadth is sometimes greater and sometimes less than that given in the formula. In several cases the temples are actually square. The variations in the proportion appear to have some relation to the geographical distribution of the sites. In the country north of the Volscian district there is a marked tendency towards the square plan. The proportions vary between 4 : 6 and 6:6, although in the late II.-I. century the length begins to increase. In the Volscian area and to the south, the tendency is towards the oblong plan. The proportions vary between 3:6 and 3.5:6.[2] All the republican temples, however, which we can be sure were Capitolia, both in the South and in the North, are either square or very nearly so.[3] The local Capitolia of the Empire, although they usually have one cella and an oblong plan, in the cases where they have three cellae also tend to be square. In view of the fact that the square plan of the VI.-V. century temple at Veii[4] suggests that this may have been the usual plan in that period, it is a reasonable inference that this plan was used in the Capitolium of Rome. Since local Capitolia were supposed to be copies of the Roman temple they would preserve the plan when it was no longer commonly used in new buildings.

The temples show less variety in the second proportion, that is the relation between the breadth of the central cella and that of the side cellae or alae. The figures do not furnish us with any definite evidence as to whether Vitruvius took his measurements between the walls or interaxially. Measurements taken in accordance with the former method usually come slightly nearer to the proportion of 3:4 which he required, but on the other hand the

[1] The individual proportions sometimes agree, especially in the relations between the cellae, but there is no temple in which all the proportions agree with the formula.

[2] *Cf.* Delbrück, *Die Drei Tempel am Forum Holitorium*, 37 f.; G. J. Pfeiffer and T. Ashby, *Suppl. Papers of the Amer. Sch. of Cl. St. in Rome*, i, 1905, 127 f. The two striking exceptions to this rule are the temples at Minturnae (see above, p. 113) and Terracina (see above, pp. 111-113). Both of these were however built by Roman colonists and would naturally have the northern proportions. The temples at Pompeii which appear to be exceptions were conditioned by the surroundings already existent when they were built.

[3] I refer here to the two periods at Florence, and the temple at Terracina. Although the temple at Minturnae has not yet been published, an acquaintance with the site influences me to place it in the same category.

[4] See above p. 101.

only examples which agree accurately with the formula are the result of interaxial measurements. We are thus no nearer to a solution of the problem as to how the measurements were taken. In the triple-cella temples the side cellae tend to be rather wider than specified. In the temples with the Italic plan the alae tend as a rule to be narrower than specified, although in a few instances they are almost exactly 3:4. In the later examples the alae are often as narrow as 1.8:4. These temples differ also in the way in which the alae are treated. As a rule they form small rooms open across the front, but in some examples, all of which occur at about the same period, [1] we find that the back wall of the cella is finished off with an anta at the corner of the podium, instead of making a re-entering angle on the side, to form a room.

The relation of the length of the pronaos to the total length of the temple is not uniform. As a rule it varies between 0.9:2 and 1.1:2. In some cases, especially when the plan is square, the pronaos becomes much shallower. [2]

The early temples appear to have been consistent in some of the details regarding the arrangement of their columns. As far as can be determined they all had the canonical four columns on the front, except the Capitolium at Rome which was hexastyle. It is not until the second century, when the influence of Hellenistic architecture begins to be felt, that we find a hexastyle pronaos combined with the Italic plan. It does not occur with a triple cella until the empire. Vitruvius specifies that there shall be two rows of columns. This rule is not regularly observed. In one case, the temple at Segni, there are three rows. The commonest variation however is the omission of the inner row, especially when the pronaos is shallow. The central intercolumniation is nearly always larger than the intercolumniations opposite the side cellae, although the difference is sometimes very slight. The lateral intercolumniations are usually wider than those across the front. The columns are usually placed on the axes of the side walls of the cella, as Vitruvius prescribes, but in some cases the tendency was to place the two inner columns more nearly opposite the middle point in the front wall surface on each side of the main door. [3]

This survey of the relation between the formula given by Vitruvius and the actual measurements of the temples to which the formula should apply, enables us to come to a conclusion as to the reliability of the formula. Although in many cases we find an approximation to the terms of the formula, we never find them exactly fulfilled. We are not justified therefore in using the formula, as has often been done in the past, to complete the reconstruction of a partially preserved temple. It can only be used to give a tentative reconstruction in a case where accuracy is unimportant, as for example in an imaginary elevation. It can never be used to supply reliable statistics, when the actual measurements are lacking.

[1] Gabii, Paestum, north temple in Forum Holitorium.

[2] This tendency is particularly marked in the temples which are not included in the formula, and becomes more common in the later examples.

[3] As in the temples at Orvieto and Lanuvio.

APPENDIX I

The coins on which the Capitolium is represented provide us with interesting contemporary evidence for its appearance, which in the second century A. D. can be supplemented by reliefs. In order that this evidence may be seen as a whole I have preferred to present it in an appendix rather than to scatter it through the text. I have included all the coins issued by the Roman state which appear to refer to a temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. I have omitted representations found in local issues such as that of Jerusalem, as they probably refer to local Capitolia. The representations found in the issues of the provincial imperial mints may refer to the Roman temple, although the types do not agree with those of the Roman mint. I have however allowed them the benefit of the doubt and listed them with the Roman issues. A distyle temple occurs on the coinage of the Civil Wars and of Vitellius, in Gaul, Upper Germany and Spain. The mint of Lugdunum, however, under Vespasian has the regular hexastyle type, perhaps in honour of his restoration of the temple. Under Domitian, the mint of Asia shows a tetrastyle temple.

The regular type of the Roman mint remains the hexastyle temple from the time of Catulus' restoration on, although with great variation in the detail of the decorations. I think that when we find in the pediment a single object, such as a thunderbolt, a wreath, or an eagle, we may assume that this is simply an indication of the divinity, not an actual representation. The variety in the portrayal of real pedimental sculpture is somewhat bewildering. Turning from the coins, we find that in this respect the three reliefs which show the temple agree remarkably well. Their medium is better adapted to such a purpose than the restricted space offered by a coin. In this matter then, we must base our reconstructions upon their evidence rather than upon the coins. None of these witnesses however can be pressed too far. The convenience of the artist came before the desire for accuracy, and we cannot do more than use these representations as supplementary evidence to be discarded if better sources differ from them.

I have arranged the material chronologically, in relation to the different periods of the temple. Whenever possible I have given the reference to the catalogue of the coins in the British Museum with the parallel reference to Cohen. Where Cohen's description of the type was fuller I have quoted it also for the sake of completeness.

Period of the Original Temple. 509 B.C. - 83 B.C.

Coin of Volteius, 78 B.C.

H. A. GRUEBER, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, 1910, i, p. 388, nos. 3154-3157.

Head of Jupiter right, laureate. — M · VOLTEI · M · F · (in exergue). The tetrastyle Doric temple of Jupiter Capitolinus with closed doors; the pediment is ornamented with a thunderbolt, and surmounted by a range of ornamented crockets; *acroteria* at the lower angles and apex.

Note: This coin was struck after the first temple had burned down in 83 B.C.; but as the second one was not finished until 69 B.C., it is probable that this would represent the earlier one. Mommsen (*Hist. Mon. Rom.*, ii, 1870, 468) interprets the type as a reference to the Ludi Romani.

Restoration of Catulus. 69 B.C. - 69 A.D.

Coins of Petillius Capitolinus, *ca.* 40 B.C.

GRUEBER, *op. cit.*, i, p. 571, nos. 4217-4219.

Head of Jupiter right; behind, CAPITOLINVS — PETILLIVS below Temple of six columns; between four (*sic*) of which are hanging ornaments; the pediment is decorated with demi-horses at the sides and a demi-horseman at the apex; in the intervals, crockets; in the tympanum, an eagle (?).

P. 572, nos. 4220-4225.

An eagle with spread wings, standing towards right on thunderbolt; above PETILLIVS, below CAPITOLINVS. — Similar; the pediment of the temple is ornamented with armed figures instead of crockets; in the tympanum is a seated figure of Jupiter between two other figures reclining (?). No legend.

Note: nos. 4222-4225 have S F or F S in the field.

Coinage of the Civil Wars.

68 A.D. Gaul.

H. MATTINGLY, *The Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, i, 1923, p. 294 † (COHEN, *Galba*, 369).

Bust of Genius, bare, head diademed, bearded, right; behind, sceptre, GENIVS P · R ·

Jupiter seated left in temple, I · O · MAX · CAPITOLINVS

COHEN, *Galba*, 369.

Similar. I · O · M · CAPITOLINVS. *Jupiter assis à gauche, dans un temple à deux colonnes, tenant un foudre et un sceptre.*

Note: the reverse of the coin (except for M not MAX) is the same as MATTINGLY, *op. cit.*, p. 307, nos. 70-71.

68-69 A.D. Upper Germany.

MATTINGLY, *op. cit.*, i, p. 307, nos. 70-71 (COHEN, *Galba*, 367).

Bust of Vesta, right, draped, head hooded, wearing stephane, in front a lighted torch. VESTA P R QVIRITIVM left up and right down.

Jupiter, with mantle falling down from waist, seated left in temple, which shows two columns, holding fulmen in right hand and sceptre in left; in pediment, a wreath. I O MAX CAPITOLINVS right up, left down, outwardly.

Coins of Vitellius.

69 A.D. Mint of Lugdunum.

MATTINGLY, *op. cit.*, i, p. 392, no. 118.

Head of Vitellius, laureate, right; a globe below neck. A VITELLIVS IMP GERMAN

Jupiter, naked to the waist, seated left in temple which shows two columns, holding fulmen in right hand and sceptre in left. [I] O MAX CAPITOLI[NVS] starting low right, outwardly.

Mint of Tarraco.

MATTINGLY, *op. cit.*, i, p. 386, see no. 87 and note (COHEN, *Vit.*, 40).

Head of Vitellius, laureate, left; a globe below neck. A · VITELLIVS IMP · GERMAN ·

Jupiter seated left in temple. I · O·MAX · CAPITOLINVS ·

COHEN, *Vit.*, 40.

Similar. I · O · MAX · CAPITOLINVS · *Jupiter assis à gauche dans un temple à deux colonnes, tenant un foudre et un sceptre.*

Restoration of Vespasian. 69 A.D. - 80 A.D.

As we do not know in which year of Vespasian's reign the restoration was completed, I have arbitrarily attributed to this period of the temple all the representations on his coins. I think it probable however that it was completed in 77-78 A.D. as in this year the mint of Lugdunum has an issue with a very elaborate representation of the Capitolium which might well be a reference to a specific occasion.

Coins of Vespasian.

71 A.D.

MATTINGLY, *op. cit.*, ii, 1930, p. 123, no. 572* (COHEN, *Vesp.*, 490).

Head of Vespasian, laureate, right. IMP · CAES · VESPASIAN · AVG · P · M · TR · P · P · P · COS · III

Hexastyle temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. S · C ·

COHEN, *Vesp.*, 490.

Similar. S · C · *Temple à six colonnes; au milieu, la statue de Jupiter assis entre celles de Junon et Minerve debout; en dehors, des colonnes, et de chaque côté, une statue debout; sur le fronton, au milieu, la statue de Jupiter? assis entre deux figures debout et deux groupes de lutteurs au-dessus du fronton, garni d'antéfixes dans toute sa longueur, un quadrige?, des enseignes, deux guerriers, et aux angles, deux aigles.*

MATTINGLY, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 133, no. 614.

Head of Vespasian, laureate, right. IMP CAES VESPASIAN AVG COS III

Front view of temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, showing six columns, on podium of four steps: in the intercolumniations, Jupiter centre, Juno right, Minerva left, standing on low bases; in pediment, Jupiter standing, holding sceptre, reclining figures right and left (?). On roof, facing quadriga (?) in centre, eagles left and right. S C left and right in field.

COHEN, *Vesp.*, 486.

Similar.

S · C · *Temple à six colonnes (Temple Capitolin); au milieu, Jupiter debout entre Junon et Minerve; sur le fronton, une figure debout entre deux figures couchées, en haut du fronton, deux quadriges et deux biges.*

72 A.D.

COHEN, *Dom.*, 533.

CAESAR AVG·DOMITIANVS COS· DES · II · *Sa tête laurée à droite.*

S · C · *Temple à six colonnes; au milieu, les statues de Jupiter, Junon et Pallas; sur le fronton, une statue debout entre deux figures difficiles à définir; au dessus du fronton, au milieu, un quadrige; et, de chaque côté, un groupe de deux figures debout?*

73 A.D.

MATTINGLY, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 155, no. 673 (COHEN, *Titus*, 242).

Head of Titus, laureate, bearded, right. T CAES IMP · PON · TR P COS II CENS

Hexastyle temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. S · C ·

COHEN, *Titus*, 242.

Similar.

S · C · *Temple à six colonnes; au milieu, Jupiter debout entre Junon et Minerve; sur le fronton, deux figures debout entre deux figures couchées; en haut du fronton, deux quadriges.*

MATTINGLY, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 158, no. 690 § (COHEN, *Dom.*, 534).

Head of Domitian, laureate, right. CAESAR AVG F DOMITIAN COS II

Hexastyle temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. S · C ·

74 A.D.

MATTINGLY, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 160, no. 695* (COHEN, *Vesp.*, 491).

Head of Vespasian, laureate, right. IMP · CAES · VESPASIAN · AVG · P · M · TR · P · P · P · COS · V CENS

Hexastyle temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. S · C ·

76 A.D.

MATTINGLY, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 168, no. 721 (COHEN, *Vesp.*, 492).

Head of Vespasian, laureate, right, IMP CAES VESPASIAN AVG P M TR P P P COS VII

Front view of temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, showing six columns, on podium of four steps: in the intercolumniations are Jupiter in centre, seated on throne set on base; right and left of him standing statues (of Juno and Minerva); outside the columns are standing statues left and right; in the pediment is Jupiter seated on throne, with figures standing left and right of him, and fighting groups (?) in corners; on roof are statues and eagles left and right. S · C in exergue.

MATTINGLY, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 168, no. 722.

Similar.

Similar but detail fuller: in intercolumniations, Jupiter holds sceptre in left hand, to left of him Minerva, helmeted, holds spear in right hand and rests left on shield; on roof, there are statues left and right and traces of facing quadriga (?) on apex. S · C · in exergue.

77-78 A.D. Mint of Lugdunum.

MATTINGLY, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 216, no. 877.

Head of Domitian, laureate, bearded (?), right; small globe below bust. CAESAR · AVG · F · DOMITIANVS COS V

Front view of temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, showing six columns, on podium of four steps; in intercolumniations are standing statues on low bases (of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva (?)); in the pediment is a wreath; on the roof, facing, quadriga (?) in centre and bigae driven right and left (?) by Victories at the corners. S C left and right in field.

MATTINGLY, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 173, no. 734 (COHEN, *Vesp.*, 493).

Head of Vespasian, laureate, left. IMP CAES VESPASIAN AVG P M TR P P P COS VIII (right to left).

Front view of temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, showing six columns, on podium of three steps, as on no. 721 above. Details obscure. S C in exergue.

MATTINGLY, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 175, no. 741 ‡ (COHEN, *Titus*, 243).

Bust of Titus, laureate, bearded, right, with aegis. T · CAESAR · VESPASIAN · IMP · PON · TR · POT · COS · VI

Front view of hexastyle temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. S · C ·

COHEN, *Titus*, 243.

Similar ("*tête*" — no mention of aegis).

S · C · *Temple à six colonnes (Temple de Jupiter Capitolin); au milieu la statue de Jupiter assis entre celles de Junon et Minerve debout; en dehors des colonnes et de chaque côté, une statue debout; sur le fronton, au milieu, la statue de Jupiter ? assis entre deux figures debout et deux groupes de lutteurs; au dessus du fronton, garni d'antéfixes dans toute sa longueur, des enseignes, deux guerriers et, à chaque angle, un aigle.*

MATTINGLY, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 210, no. 850.

Mint of Lugdunum. Head of Vespasian, laureate, right; below, small globe. IMP CAES · VESPASIAN AVG COS VIII P P

Front view of temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, showing six columns, on podium of four steps; in the intercolumniations are standing statues (of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva (?)). In the pediment is a figure of Jupiter standing left and anguipede giants right and left (?): on the roof is a facing quadriga in centre and bigae driven right and left by Victories at the angles. S C left and right in field.

79 A.D.

MATTINGLY, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 178, no. 746 †.

Head of Titus, laureate, right. T · CAES · VESPASIAN · IMP · PON · TR · P · COS · VII P · P · (*sic!*).

Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. S · C ·

Coins of Titus.

80-81 A.D.

MATTINGLY, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 261, no. 188* (COHEN, *Titus*, 244).

Head of Titus, laureate, bearded, left. IMP T CAES VESP AVG P M TR P P P COS VIII

Hexastyle temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. S · C ·

MATTINGLY, *op. cit.*, on page 280 (COHEN, *Titus*, 245).

Head of Titus, laureate, right. T · CAES · DIVI VESPASIAN · IMP · F · AVG · P · M · TR · P · P · P ·

Hexastyle temple of Jupiter Capitolinus. S · C ·

Note: this type is listed (as no. 2) among "doubtful and unusual coins".

Restoration of Domitian. 82 A.D. - ?

Coins of Domitian.

82 A.D.

MATTINGLY, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 351, no. 251 (COHEN, 23).

Mint of Asia.
Head of Domitian, laureate, bearded, right. IMP CAES DOMITIAN AVG P M COS VIII

Front view of temple, showing four columns, on podium of four steps. In centre, Jupiter seated left, holding sceptre, to right and left of him Juno and Minerva standing, holding sceptres; in pediment, uncertain group; on roof, facing quadriga in centre, bigae (?) on corners. CA PIT left and right in field. RESTIT in exergue.

94-96 A.D.

MATTINGLY, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 346, no. 242.

Head of Domitian, bare, bearded, right. DOMITIANVS AVG GERM

Front view of temple, showing six columns on podium of four steps; between columns, Jupiter seated in the centre, to right and left standing figures; in the pediment, standing figures in center, other figures right and left; on roof, quadriga facing in center, two standing figures each on right and left, eagles (?) at corners. IMP CAESAR on architrave.

Note: the words on the architrave make it impossible to identify this temple with certainty, but they may simply have been transferred from the field where the same words are found in other types of the same period.

Coins of Marcus Aurelius.

179 A.D.

COHEN, *Comm.*, 977.

L · AVREL · COMMODVS AVG · GERM · SARM · TR · P · IIII · *Son buste jeune lauré, drapé, et cuirassé, à droite.*

VOTA PVBLICA (*à l'exergue*) IMP · II · COS · P · P · (*à l'entour*) *Commode voilé debout à gauche, sacrifiant sur un trépied; il est accompagné de quatre citoyens en toge debout; en face d'eux, un victimaire tenant un marteau et s'apprêtant à immoler un taureau; à gauche deux hommes debout, dont un jouant de la double flûte, et un jeune garçon (camille); dans le fond, un temple à six colonnes, dont le fronton est surmonté d'une statue, ainsi que chacune des colonnes extérieures; dans le tympan, Jupiter debout entre deux divinités.*

Coins of Commodus.

185 A.D.?

COHEN, *Comm.*, 978.

M · COMMODVS ANTONINVS AVG · PIVS BRIT · *Son buste lauré, drapé, et cuirassé à droite.*

VOTA PVBLICA (*à l'exergue*) P · M · TR · P · (X?) IMP · VII · COS · IIII · P · P · (*à l'entour*). *Même type, mais seulement deux figures derrière Commode.*

Besides those on coins, there are several sculptured representations of the Capitolium which show it in its last stage. The most famous of these is the relief in the Conservatori Museum which depicts the triumph of Marcus Aurelius (HELBIG, *Führer*, 3d. ed., 1912-1913, i, p. 505 f., no. 893; A.J.B. WACE, *Papers of the British School in Rome*, iv, 1907, 240; *Brit. Sch. at Rome, The Sculptures of the Pal. d. Conservatori*, 1926, pp. 22-25, no. 4; pl. 12). Here there is a tetrastyle temple of the Corinthian order, with the three closed doors of the cellae in the intercolumniations. A complicated group of figures ornament the pediment. In the centre are Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva seated. At the feet of Jupiter is an eagle. On the right beyond Juno is Luna in her chariot descending, and beyond her again Vulcan with Cyclopes working at an anvil. In front of Juno, stands a small male figure. In front of Minerva are two small figures identified as Aesculapius and Hygieia. At her left stands a male figure, probably Mercury, and beyond him Sol ascending in his chariot. In this angle again are figures which may be Vulcan and the Cyclopes. A quadriga decorates the apex and bigae the corners of the pediment.

An almost identical arrangement of the pedimental figures can be seen on a terra-cotta plaque, stated to come from Myrina, in the Louvre, although, owing to its state of preservation, it is more difficult to identify the figures. From the marked similarity one would fancy that the terra-cotta was a copy of the relief, but as von Rohden has pointed out in his discussion of it, this would make it almost impossibly late for this type of ware. (*Arch. Inst. des Deutschen Reichs, Die Antiken Terrakotten*, Band IV, *Architektonische Römische Tonreliefs der Kaiserzeit*, 153, pl. cxvii, 2). It is more likely that it is an earlier representation of the same stage of the temple. In this case however it is curious that it indicates only four columns, for in this medium there could have been no such need to economise on space as there was in the relief. Doubts have been cast however on the genuineness of the plaque.

There is also in the Louvre a Trajanic relief which shows a sacrifice taking place before the Capitolium.[1] We may compare it with the scenes on the coins of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus listed above. The temple is represented this time as hexastyle. In the three central intercolumniations appear the half-open doors of the cellae. In this representation, there is one detail which is supplied nowhere else. The front wall of the cella is shown, and we can see that it occupies only the centre of the building. The colonnade continues down the side, as in the Italic plan. This corroborates Dionysius' description of the temple. The relief has unfortunately been broken off above the capitals of the columns, but there are records which show the lost section containing the pediment. It was at one time in the Capitoline collection and various sketches were made of it. These have been assembled with the Louvre relief in a detailed discussion.[2] The left corner of the pediment is missing but the rest of the pedimental sculpture is shown. The apex was crowned by a quadriga driving right and at the corners were bigae driving up the raking cornice. Between the apex and the corner on the right side stood a male and female figure shown with sufficient clearness to justify their identification as Venus and Mars. On the left there were doubtless similar figures which can no longer be seen. In the centre of the pediment are the three seated figures of the Triad and at the feet of Jupiter, an eagle. At the right is the chariot of Sol, behind him a standing figure which may be a Cyclops, and behind this again a recumbent figure. To the left of the central group is the chariot of Luna ascending.

APPENDIX II

This list includes all the temples of the Republican period which I have been able to find, which are sufficiently well preserved to supply any measurements. I have also included monumental altars and podia which may have supported temples or have been intended simply as platforms on which to perform ceremonies. The temples are here arranged in alphabetical order, for the sake of convenience. In the brief description of each temple I have laid the emphasis on the measurements and the methods of construction, as being of more immediate importance in this discussion than the other details. Temples obviously in the Greek tradition have been omitted.

Alatri: R. Bassel, *Centralblatt der Bauverwaltung*, vi, 1886, 197, 207; H. Winnefeld, *Röm. Mitt.*, iv, 1889, 143-147; A. Cozza, *op. cit.*, vi, 1891, 349-359; Della Seta, *Museo di Villa Giulia*, i, 213. The temple was prostyle in antis with an altar in the pronaos. The plan at the back is not clear; an opisthodomus has been suggested but is not probable. The measurements were 7 m. × 14.50 m. The pronaos was 6.79 m. deep.

Alba Fucens: Church of San Pietro (Temple A). C. Promis, *Le Antichità di Alba Fucense negli Equi*, 1836, 204-223; Delbrück, *Die Drei Tempel am Forum Holitorium*, 27; Durm, *Baukunst d. Etr. u. R.*, 2d. ed. (1905), pp. 108-110, fig. 120. Podium of concrete faced with polygonal limestone walls. The church preserves part of the original back wall of the cella in ashlar masonry of limestone. Moulding along cella, and column base indicate early date, possibly II. century. Measurements are 16 m. × 22.90 m.

Temple B. Promis, *op. cit.*, 223 f.; Delbruck, *op. cit.*, 27. A podium of concrete with facing walls of polygonal limestone. Measurements are 7.35 × 11 m.

[1] Wace, *P.B.S.R.*, iv, 1907, 229-243, pls. 25, 26.

[2] Wace, *loc. cit.*, with pl. 20, *cf.* 29.

Temple C. PROMIS, *op. cit.*, 228; DELBRÜCK, *Das Capitolium von Signia*, 21. Walls of polygonal masonry laid without mortar facing a natural elevation of rock. No signs of superstructure. Measurements are 14.49 m. × 20.77 m.; 1.5 m. high.

Temple D. PROMIS, *op. cit.*, 231 f.; DURM, *op. cit.*, p. 109, fig. 119 B. Temple *in antis*. Walls of ashlar masonry. Measurements are 7.3 × 12 m.

Temple E. PROMIS, *op. cit.*, 231. Temple *in antis*. Walls of ashlar masonry. Measurements are 4.25 m. × 6 m. DURM, *op. cit.*, p. 109, fig. 119 C.

Temple F. PROMIS, *op. cit.*, 233 f. *Cf.* DURM, *op. cit.*, p. 109, fig. 119 A. Foundation walls in ashlar masonry, prostyle temple probably square. One side wall is double. 12.47 m. in width, side wall is now 10.51 m. long but the pronaos was probably deeper.

Alfedena: V. DE AMICIS, *Not. Scavi*, 1902, 516-518. A sanctuary consisting of a rectangular enclosure surrounded by a portico and containing a small shrine in the centre. The construction is of small stones laid without mortar, repaired at a later date. The shrine is a little cella open across the front; probably it had an overhanging roof in front. The cella measures 3 m. in width and 2.50 m. in depth. The roof extended 2.50 m. beyond the cella.

Ardea: Temple on the Acropolis. *Associazione Internazionale Studi Mediterranei, Bollettino*, i, 1930-1931, no. 3, pl. 2, figs. 1, 2; ii, 1931-1932, no. 2, p. 5, pl. 3, fig. 4. Foundations of tufa blocks laid in a great pit dug down to bed rock. No detailed plans published yet. Measurements are approximately 40 m. × 26 m. Revetments indicate VI. century: A. ANDRÉN, *op. cit.*, ii, 1931-1932, no. 2, pp. 17 f., with figs. 14 (archaic), 15, 16 (later) on pp. 13, 15 f.

Temple on the Civita Vecchia. *Loc. cit.*, p. 4; pl. i, fig. 2. Has a stepped podium with a profile like those found at Marzabotto and Fiesole. No plans or details as yet published.

Ariccia: Temple below the town. G. FLORESCU, *Ephemeris Dacoromana*, iii, 1925, 38-47. Italic plan, with alae. Only cella is now preserved. Walls are ashlar masonry of peperino, well cut with anathyrosis and worked to take stucco on the outer surface. Interior measurements of the cella are 7.70 m. × 13.15 m. Ala is 3.55 m. wide, 2.55 m. deep. Whole temple was 14.94 m. wide. Restored with a pronaos with one row of four columns, and four columns on the side. It is possible that a wall at right angles to the cella wall partially enclosed the ala.

Aurunca (?): G. ABEKEN, *Ann. d. Inst.*, xi, 1839, 199-201. DELBRÜCK, *op. cit.*, 22. A platform of polygonal masonry measuring 25 m. × 75 m.; in the centre a podium measuring 14 m. × 14 m.

Bovianum Vetus (*Pietrabbondante*). DELBRÜCK, *Rom. Mitt.*, xviii, 1903, 154-158; A. MAIURI, *Not. Scav.*, 1913, 456; G. DEVOTO, *Gli Antichi Italici*, 1931, 221 f. The temple is described as having been originally of « Italic type », with a podium which is almost entirely preserved. Over this was later built a temple of a later, perhaps Hellenistic, type with an elongated cella. There seem to have been steps between two projecting portions of the front of the podium. Devoto's statement, (p. 222) as to the interior disposition of the cella is so at variance with the usual arrangements of the ancients as to suggest that he has misunderstood the evidence.

Capua, Fondo Patturelli: H. KOCH, *Röm. Mitt.*, xxii, 1907, 368-385. A podium about 7 m. wide, 4 m. deep, 2.46 m. high, approached on the front by a flight of twelve steps. On the podium was an altar and probably a cult image. Six columns supported a roof. The construction is of ashlar masonry of tufa, with no use of mortar or dowels.

Carsioli: G. J. PFEIFFER and T. ASHBY, *Suppl. Papers Amer. Sch. of Cl. St. in Rome*, i, 1905, 127 f. A podium of ashlar masonry in tufa with some remains of the superstructure walls in the same technique. Measures 8.85 m. × 18.9 m.

Cori: Temple of Hercules. DELBRÜCK, *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium*, ii, 23-36, pls. 15-20; A. VON GERKAN, *Röm. Mitt.*, xl, 1925, 167-180. Only the pronaos and the adjacent parts of the cella walls are preserved. The entablature, pediment and raking cornice on the front are still in place. The plan was pseudoperipteral, tetrastyle, with a deep pronaos, one row of columns across and three columns on the side. Width 6.76 m., depth probably about 12 m. Construction of podium is ashlar masonry of local

limestone under the walls of the superstructure, and round piers under the columns, with concrete fill between. Podium is faced with orthostates, with base moulding and cornice. Superstructure of ashlar with stucco facing. Built on a terrace with a supporting wall faced with pseudo-reticulate but with corners of ashlar. Probably early I. century B. C.

Fiamignano: DELBRÜCK, *Röm. Mitt.*, xviii, 1903, 152-154; ID., *Das Capitolium von Signia*, 24. A cella apparently without a podium, built in ashlar masonry of local limestone. Measures 5.20×8.40 m. VI.-V. centuries (?).

Fiesole: See text, pages 118-122.

Florence: See text, pages 93-98.

Gabii: DELBRÜCK, *op. cit.*, ii, 5-10, pls. 4-6; ASHBY, *P.B.S.R.*, i, 1902, 182-185. Italic plan, back wall of cella finished with anta instead of forming ala. Restored as hexastyle with only one row of columns in pronaos, seven columns on the sides. Built in ashlar masonry of the local tufa. Anathyrosis is used. Podium is faced with orthostates, with base moulding and cornice. Inside the cella is an adyton which is shut off by a grill set in a threshold. The adyton was roofed by beams set in the walls at a height of 2.50 m. from the floor. Front is destroyed but the temple probably measured 17.83 m. × 23.91 m. Cella is 14.72 m. long, and 8.37 m. wide. The back wall projects 2.84 m. from the side wall. Probably III. century.

Lanuvio: See text, pages 127-130.

Marzabotto: For the whole site see GOZZADINI, *Di un'antica necropoli a Marzabotto nel Bolognese; Di ulteriori scoperte nell'antica necropoli a M. nel B.*; BRIZIO, *Relazione sugli Scavi eseguiti a Marzabotto presso Bologna*, *Mon. Ant.*, i, 1889, 249-426; A. GRENIER, *Bologne villanovienne et Étrusque* (fasc. 106 of *Bibl. des Éc. fr. d'Athènes et de Rome*), 1912, 99-121; DUCATI, *Contributo allo Studio dell'Arce Etrusca di Marzabotto*, in *Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie di Romagna*, Serie IV, xiii, 69-106.

Temple A. Two walls at right angles to each other, and a very small section of an inner wall. Construction is ashlar masonry, on a foundation of small uncut stones piled together without binding material, except at the N. W. corner, where the foundation was of parallelepiped blocks. V.-IV. centuries.

Temple B. A platform formed of an outer wall of river boulders loosely piled together, with roughly shaped larger stones at the corners. The space inside the wall is filled in with earth, and the surface paved with stones. In the central stone is the opening of a *pozzo* 6.50 m. deep, in which were found bones of sacrificial animals. The platform measures 4.10 m. on a side, is 0.90 m. high, and is approached from the south by a flight of five steps, much narrower than the platform, built against the front wall. There was probably no superstructure. V. century.

Temple C. See text, pages 114-117.

Temple D. Similar to B. The outer wall is of tufa blocks with a characteristic Etruscan profile. Inside this is a reënforcing wall of loose stone; the centre is filled in with earth. The whole rests on a foundation of uncut stones, as in A. The platform measures 9 m. on a side, is 1.15 m. high, and is approached from the south by a flight of three steps 3 m. wide which projects 2.80 m. from the front wall against which it is built. IV. century.

Temple E. See text, page 117.

Minturnae: Capitolium. See text, page 113.

Temple of Marica. *Arch. Anz.*, 1927, 120 f. Foundations of an early temple, possibly with a deep pronaos. Revetments found on the site date back to the VI. century. No detailed publication has as yet appeared.

Mons Albanus: Sactuary of Jupiter Latiaris. See text, page 127.

Nemi: Temple of Diana. L. MORPURGO, *Mon. Ant.*, xiii, 1903, 306-311. Temple probably tetrastyle *in antis* rather than prostyle hexastyle. On a podium, 30 m. × 15.90 m. Probably I. century. The temple stood in a rectangular area about which ran a portico. Apparently had inner sanctuary.

Norba: Temple of Juno Lucina. L. SAVIGNONI and R. MENGARELLI, *Not. Scav.*, 1903, 229-257. Podium of lime-

stone polygonal masonry. Superstructure of wood and clay, with terra-cotta revetments. Steps added after original building, which is dated in III. century by the pottery in the fill. Remains of I. century B.C. superstructure in stone. Measures 9.98 × 20.55 m. Height 1.60 - 2.30 m.

The small temple on the small acropolis. SAVIGNONI and MENGARELLI, *Not. Scavi*, 1901, 541-545. DELBRÜCK, *Die Drei Tempel am Forum Holitorium*, 30. Walls of roughly cut blocks of limestone in irregular courses. Steps built against the front wall. Measures *ca.* 8.16 × 16.50 m. Height 1.12 - 1.50 m.

The large temple on the small acropolis. SAVIGNONI and MENGARELLI, *Not. Scavi*, 1901, 534-541. DELBRÜCK, *op. cit.*, 30. Podium of polygonal limestone masonry, height 2.23 - 2.44 m. Superstructure was wood. Measures 12.90 × 22.80 m. Cella is 13 m. deep, pronaos 5 m. deep.

Ostia: Temple on the Decumanus. R. PARIBENI, *Not. Scav.*, 1918, 133-135. Concrete podium faced with reticulate work with base moulding and cornice in tufa. Cella walls are brick. Several periods indicated. Four reticulate walls at right angles to front of podium for the steps. Statue base preserved at back of cella. Measures 10.50 × 6.35 m. Pronaos is 4.20 m. deep. Podium is 1.78 m. high.

Podium on the Decumanus. D. VAGLIERI, *Not. Scavi*, 1911, 46. Opposite the theatre on the Decumanus is a podium formed of a concrete core faced with ashlar masonry of tufa. It is 6 m. square and was at least 3.80 m. high. It must have been either a temple podium or a monumental altar. II.-I. century.

Four Small Temples. PARIBENI, *Mon. Ant.*, xxiii, 1916, 441-484. A podium with a concrete core faced with reticulate work. Base moulding and cornice of tufa. Built on a foundation of uncut tufa. Measures 33.50 m. × 11.55 m., 2.35 m. high. Steps across one long side (the front). On the podium four small temples, now *in antis* but in antiquity probably prostyle tetrastyle. The inner areas of the cellae measure 5.45 m. in length and 5.80 m. in breadth. Below the steps in front of each temple are tufa altars with mouldings like the podium. The sacred area on which the temples face is enclosed on three sides by a portico.

Shrine of Juppiter Optimus Maximus. *Ibid.*, 466-470. A small open-air sacred place enclosed by reticulate walls. In the corners are cippi inscribed with *I.O.M.S.* Shrine measures 4.88 m. × 4.55 m.

Paestum: KOLDEWEY and PUCHSTEIN, *Die Griechischen Tempel in Unteritalien und Sicilien*, 32-35; pl. 3, below. A podium temple with Italic plan. Corinthian columns and Doric entablature. Podium is formed of walls of ashlar masonry with the space between filled in with earth and débris. Six walls at right angles to the front provide for steps and an altar. Measures 13.40 × 21.35 m. Pronaos is 6.7 m. deep. Cella is 6.4 m. wide and the ala is 1.5 m. wide. III. century.

Pompeii: Capitolium. See text, pages 131-134.

Apollo Temple. MAU and KELSEY, *Pompeii*, 80-90. OVERBECK and MAU, *Pompeji*, 1884, 96-104. Peripteral hexastyle temple with ten columns on the side. A small cella leaves space for a deep pronaos. There is a narrow flight of steps in front. Measures about 11.5 m. × 20 m. (according to the published plans). II. century. A publication of the recent official investigations is imminent.

Zeus Milichius. MAU and KELSEY, *op. cit.*, 183-185; OVERBECK and MAU, *op. cit.*, 110-113. The peculiar plan was conditioned by the position between houses of an earlier period. The temple measures about 5.5 m. × 8.5 m., is prostyle tetrastyle, pronaos is *ca.* 3.50 m. deep, with two columns on the side.

Temple in the Foro Triangolare. MAU and KELSEY, *op. cit.*, 137-140; KOLDEWEY and PUCHSTEIN, *Die Griechischen Tempel in Unteritalien und Sicilien*, 45-49, pl. 5; OVERBECK and MAU, *op. cit.*, 85-90. Pseudodipteral, on a podium of five steps. Seven columns on the front and eleven on the side. The cella with pronaos measures about 17.20 m. × 27.17 m. VI century, later remodelled. A publication of the recent official investigations is imminent.

Venus Pompeiana. MAU and KELSEY, *op. cit.*, 124-129; A. SOGLIANO, *Not. Scavi*, 1899, 17-24; MAU, *Röm. Mitt.*, xv (1900), 270-308, pls. 7 f. Concrete core with facing and foundation walls probably of ashlar tufa masonry. Imperial rebuilding in marble, with foundation walls of lava ashlar. The relation between successive restorations requires further investigation. Measures 26.9 m. × 14.95 m. Pronaos is 10 m. long. I. century B.C.

Rome: For detailed bibliography see PLATNER and ASHBY, *Topographical Dictionary of Rome.*

Capitolium. See text, pages 101-108.

Temple of Apollo in the Campus Martius. Only a portion of the foundation wall, built of *cappellaccio* faced with Monte Verde tufa, has been known heretofore, but the recent systematization of the Forum Holitorium has laid bare more of the foundations which have not yet been published.

Forum Holitorium. The publication of new material resulting from the recent systematization will doubtless supply new evidence.

North Temple. S. v. Janus, in *Topographical Dictionary.* Hexastyle temple, peripteral except for the wall across the back, Italic plan, Ionic order. Construction in tufa, peperino and travertine. 100-80 B.C.

Central Temple. S. v. Spes, op. cit. Ionic order, peripteral hexastyle. Materials of the podium are Monte Verde and Anio tufa, and travertine. Superstructure is in peperino, entablature peperino and travertine. Measures *ca.* 30 m. × 15 m. Dated about 90 B.C.

Forum Boarium, Ionic temple. S. v. Mater Matuta, op. cit. Pseudoperipteral tetrastyle. Two columns on side in pronaos. Cella is divided into inner and outer room. Material is Anio tufa and travertine with a concrete core. Measures about 10.50 × 18.30 m. Pronaos is about 6.50 m. deep. Built probably about 50 B. C.

Magna Mater on the Palatine. Podium of concrete faced with stucco. Prostyle hexastyle with steps all across the front except for the flanking buttresses or bases. The walls are very thick, 3.84 m. on the side and 5.50 m. wide at the back with an air space of 1.80 m. in the back wall. Measures about 33.18 × 17.10 m. II-I. centuries.

Concordia. The plan of the Republican temple probably resembled that of the Empire, but not all the required measurements can be given.

Castor. V.-century structure was probably tetrastyle with two rows of columns in the pronaos. Probably measured about 29 × 19 m., with a pronaos about 10 m. deep. In the II. century it was enlarged and became hexastyle.

Temple of Venus Genetrix: The recent excavations of the Forum Julium have not yet been published, but a brief preliminary report appeared in the *Messaggero,* October 10, 1933, p. 5; and there is I. Gismondi's plan in C. RICCI, A. M. COLINI, and V. MARIANI, *Via dell'Impero* [1933], p. 36; also, *Arch. Anz.,* 1933, 617-8, fig. 20. The temple was rebuilt under Trajan. No measurements were given but from the plan it appears that the temple was almost square, had alae on each side of the cella, and eight columns on the side and eight across the front. Inside the pronaos were two columns on each side in line with the axis of the cella walls. The cella had an apse at the back, and pilasters along the outside of the cella walls. The width of the alae is less than one-quarter the width of the cella.

Largo Argentina. G. MARCHETTI-LONGHI, *L'Area Sacra del Largo Argentina ed i Tempii Repubblicani, Bull. Comm.,* 1932, 253-346, pls. 1-4; *Arch. Anz.,* 1929, 87-92.

Temple A. Peripteral, probably hexastyle with a deep pronaos. Steps built against front of podium. Two periods, probably built in II. century. No measurements as yet published. Proportions are about 4.1 : 6.

Temple B. Round temple with three periods, originally peripteral. Has a pronaos, in plan like the Pantheon. Probably II. century.

Temple C. Italic plan. Materials are Grotta Oscura and Monte Verde tufa, in the podium. Present superstructure dates from Empire. Steps built against the front of podium, and slightly wider than cella. Podium is hollow under the cella and was probably filled with earth as is the similar hollow space under the pronaos. Temple had five columns on the side. The number across the front is undetermined. Podium measures *ca.* 17.10 × 30.50 m.

Rusellae: G. MICALI, *Storia degli Antichi Popoli Italiani,* 1836, pl. 3; G. DENNIS, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria,* 2d. ed., 1883, ii, 229; BRIZIO, *Mon. Ant.,* i, 1890, 264 f.; DELBRÜCK, *Das Capitolium von Signia,* 21; *Die Drei Tempel am Forum Holitorium,* 29. A stepped podium with three steps. Walls built of ashlar masonry. The upper level is 14.50 m. square. Possibly the podium of a temple or an altar. Date uncertain.

Santestro: DELBRÜCK, in *Röm. Mitt.*, xviii, 1903, 149. A poorly preserved temple podium with walls of concrete faced with polygonal masonry (limestone?) as at Alba Fucens. Measures *ca.* 15.50 × 6 m.

Satricum: F. BARNABEI etc., *Not. Scavi*, 1896, 23-48; 69; 99-102; 167; 190-200; E. PETERSEN, *Röm. Mitt.*, xi, 1896, 157-184. For a detailed bibliography see DELLA SETA, *Museo di Villa Giulia*, i, 251-320. Several different periods represented in the terra-cottas and the building materials, the earliest in the VI. century. Plan is uncertain, may have been peripteral or Italic. The final stage measured about 34 × 22 m. The earlier stage was smaller but its dimensions are uncertain.

Segni: See text, pages 108-111.

Tarquinia: G. FIORELLI, *Not. Scavi*, 1876, 3; DELBRÜCK, *Die Drei Tempel am Forum Holitorium*, 29. Inside the east gate of Tarquinia there were reported the remains of a stepped podium with three levels built of tufa blocks. The lowest step measured *ca.* 70 m. in length and was 3.70 m. high. The width is not determined. Fragments of statues and terra-cotta revetments found on the top level indicate the presence of a temple.

Terracina: *Capitolium*. See text, pages 111-113.

Temple of Jupiter Anxur. LUGLI, in *Forma Italiae*, Reg. I, vol. I, pars 1, 166-176; PETERSEN, *Röm. Mitt.*, x, 1895, 86-90. Hexastyle pseudoperipteral temple with four columns on the side of the pronaos. Pilaster 30 cm. deep forms adyton in the rear of cella, in which is statue base. Measures about 19.20 × 32.70 m. Pronaos is about 15 m. deep. I. century B.C.

Tivoli: Rectangular temple ("Temple of Sibyl"). DELBRÜCK, *Hell. Bauten in Latium*, ii, 14-16. Pseudo-peripteral temple with very shallow pronaos. Construction of tufa and travertine. Measures 9.15 × 15.9 m. Podium is faced with base moulding, orthostates and cornice.

Veii: See text, page 101.

Vetulonia: I. FALCHI, *Not. Scavi*, 1895, 298 f. A temple with walls of "cyclopean" masonry 1.45 m. high and 1.25 m. thick. Measured 9.40 × 6.10 m. Two coins of Vetulonia were found inside the temple, and terra-cotta revetments, bronze statuettes etc. were found. Another similar structure was found at a distance of only 10 m. from the first: it was larger, but no further information is preserved.

Vignanello: *Not. Scavi*, 1924, 258-263. A podium consisting of a nucleus of ashlar masonry in tufa, faced with peperino with a profile resembling the one on foundation D at Marzabotto etc. The podium is built on a strong foundation below ground level. The east portion is wider than the west end, as each side juts out about 1 m. at a point 5.05 m. from the east edge. The sides measure 7.43 m., the east end is 9.45 m. and the west end 7.45 m. It was probably a monumental altar mounted by steps on the narrow (western) end.

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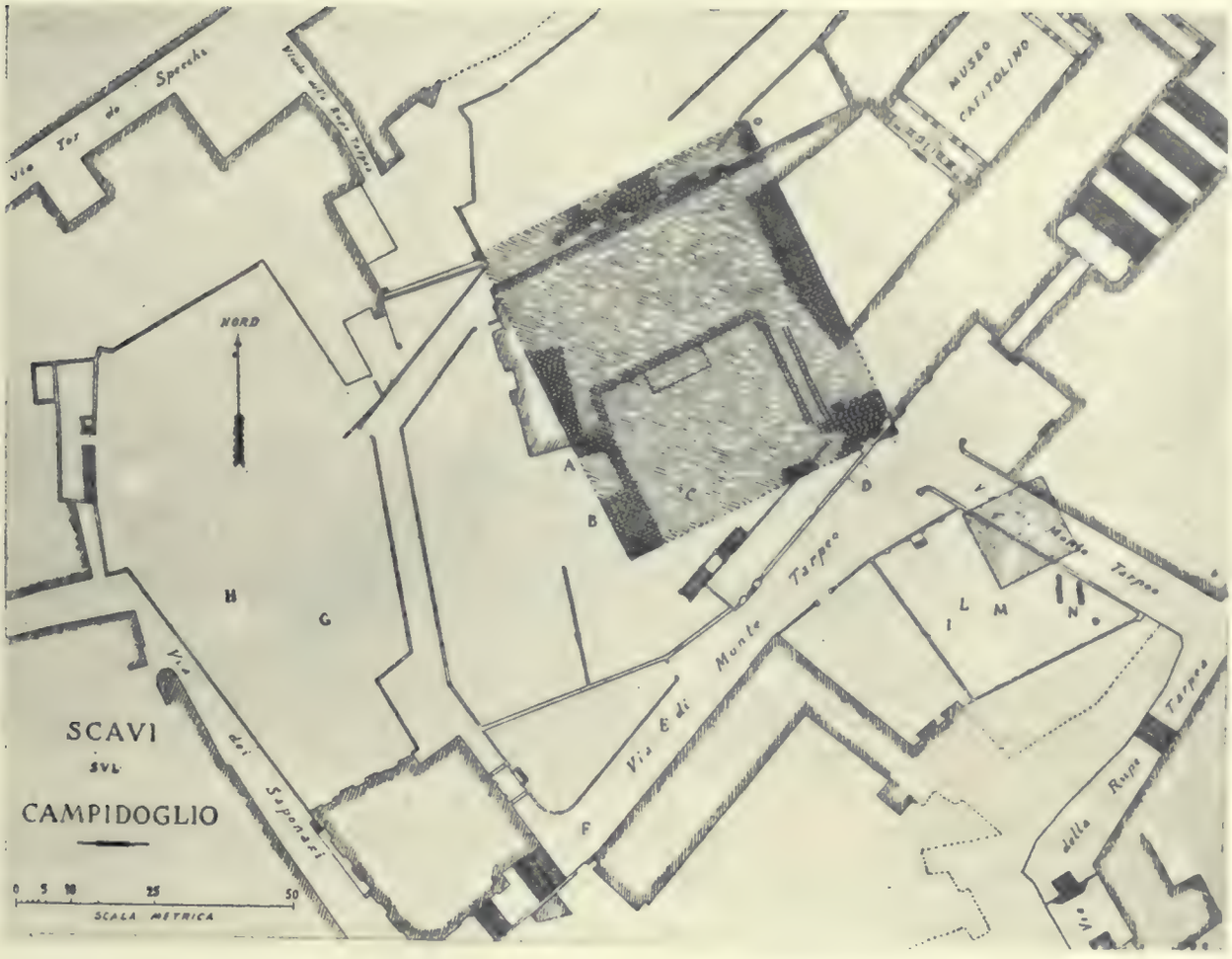
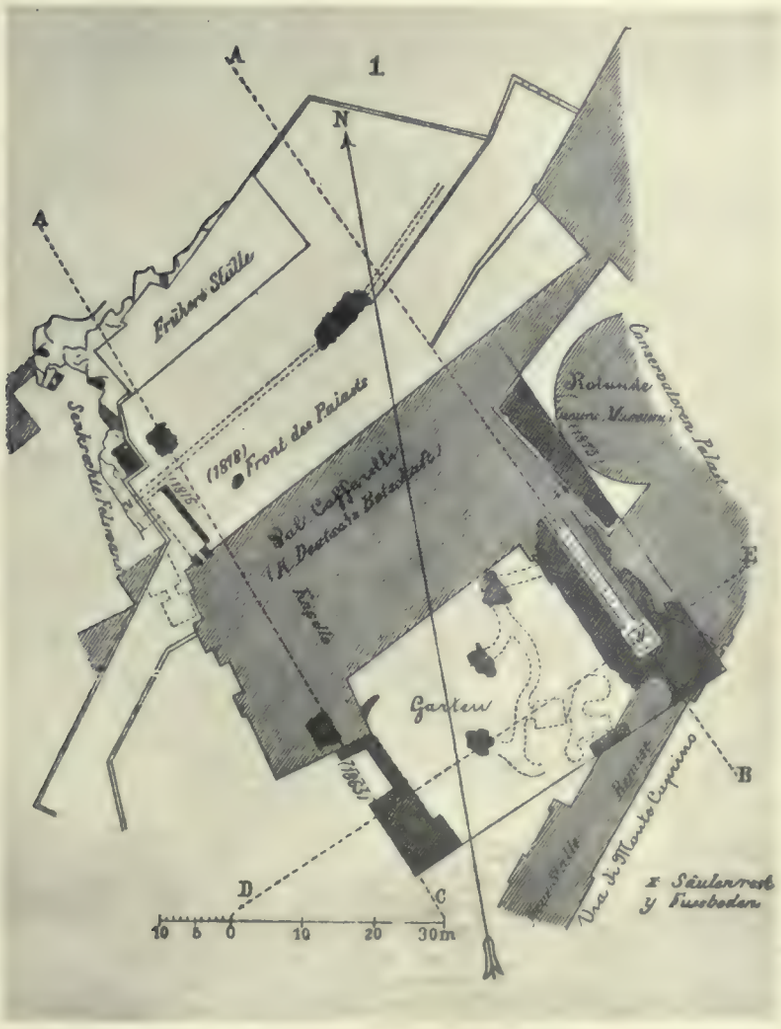


1. The Capitoline temple. Plan given by R. Paribeni, *Not. Scavi*, 1921, p. 45.
By kind permission of the R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. See pages 106-108.



2. Excavations of the Capitoline temple. Plan given by H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum*, I, ii, pl. i, after p. 66. See pp. 106-108.

1. Rear view of the Church of San Pietro at Segni, showing temple podium and central cella. See pages 108-111.

2. *Zona Archeologica* at Fiesole, showing the temple and surroundings. See pages 118-122.

THE HOUSE OF MARCUS LOREIUS TIBURTINUS AT POMPEII

RESTORATION BY THOMAS D. PRICE, TEXT BY A. W. VAN BUREN

(PLATES 11-13)

THE unique Pompeian city block, *Regio II, Insula v*, was excavated during the years 1918-1921, under the administration of Commendatore Vittorio Spinazzola, and the inscriptions then found were published by Cavaliere Matteo Della Corte in *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1919, 233-236. Since that time its remarkable features have aroused the interest of countless visitors, and have received mention in various printed guides to Pompeii. Fuller scientific treatment has been accorded by Della Corte, first in his work on *Case e Abitanti a Pompei*, *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica*, viii, 1924, pp. 125-129, then in his pamphlet, *Pompei, I Nuovi Scavi e l'Anfiteatro*, Pompei, 1930 and other editions, in an article in *Atti del II. Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani* (1931), i, pp. 19-30, pls. 1-5, and in a richly-illustrated monograph, *I MM. Lorei Tiburtini di Pompei*, which appeared in *Atti e Memorie della Società Tiburtina di Storia e d'Arte*, xi-xii (1931-32-X), pp. 182-216, pls. 22-36, as well as in separate form. Permission to prepare and publish the present treatment has been liberally granted by the *Sopraintendente alle Antichità della Campania e del Molise*, Commendatore Amedeo Maiuri, to whom our sincere thanks are herewith expressed.

The *insula* includes, in its north-east corner, the residence of Messius Ampliatus; but the remainder of the property, in the last period of Pompeii, was owned by Marcus Loreius Tiburtinus: for the fortunes of his family, as well as those of their neighbors the Messii, we refer to Della Corte's learned exposition, where there will also be found a very detailed interpretation of the decorations and the functioning of the various elements in the buildings and grounds. The Loreii Tiburtini, whose place of origin obviously was Tibur near Rome, were devoted — some or all of them — to the cult of Isis and to the pursuit of poetry: both these interests are reflected in their possessions.

The property fronts to north, on one of the principal arteries of the street-system of Pompeii, now known as *Strada dell'Abbondanza:* its other three sides are bounded by lesser streets. The two dwelling-houses which occupy its front part show by various details of their structure, and of their decoration, indications of having had a history of several

centuries before the disaster of the year 79 A. D.; the large garden, with water-channels and other amenities, which occupies about three-fifths of the area, comprising the lower ground in the back, presumably was added at a comparatively late period through the acquisition of the right to block a street: such a procedure is not without parallels at Pompeii. [1]

The plans of the two houses proper are of interest to the student of the evolution of the ancient dwelling, because while the Loreii maintained for themselves the traditional atrium and its appurtenances, without tablinum, [2] their less opulent neighbors remodelled their house in accordance with humbler but more modern requirements and standards: a light-court has usurped the place of the atrium. Moreover, the Loreii penetrated into the original area of their neighbors' house with a large room and a convenience of their own, [3] as well as acquiring all the land at a lower level at what thus became the back portion of the whole city block. [4]

The possibilities thus afforded for landscape architecture, axial development, and a display of water, were exploited in a most thorough and interesting manner; and the care with which the modern excavation of this part of Pompeii was conducted has rendered it possible to locate the positions of the various trees and shrubs, to renew the water-supply, both flowing and in jets under pressure, and — with perhaps less confidence in details — to reconstruct the wooden pergolas.

The pronounced slope of the land from front to back afforded for the dwelling-houses a position at a high level, with a maximum of sunlight; permitted the creation of a distinct drop at the point where houses end and garden begins; and suggested the effective use of the perennial water supply, [5] first on the east-west terrace with its fountain at the east end and its axial channel or *euripus*, and again on the lower level in the great north-south *euripus* which receives its supply of water from the fountain at its north end. The large *salon* with the two friezes commands an axial view of the north-south *euripus;* and the miniature room at the south-west corner of the house with the painting of the Priest of Isis allows a vista upwards along the east-west euripus, toward the fountain at its east end with the *biclinium* and the paintings signed by Lucius.

There is similar treatment of levels — though without the elaborate water-works — at the Villa of Diomedes and the Villa of the Mysteries: [6] the Loreii followed a good tradition and embellished it, creating, if not precisely what the modern mind would describe as *rus in urbe*, [7] still a verdant and refreshing villa within the city walls.

[1] See A. Ippel, *Röm. Mitt.*, xlvi, 1931, esp. 199-203.

[2] *Cf.* the *Domus Vettiorum*, where the principal atrium opens directly upon the peristyle.

[3] *Cf.* the growth of the *Domus Vettiorum:* Van Buren, *MAAR.*, x, 1932, 22-28.

[4] The precise dates of these various changes we do not discuss.

[5] Derived doubtless from the great aqueduct of the city.

[6] A. Maiuri, *La Villa dei Misteri*, 102. Pompeian houses, mostly situated along the south slope, showing the cryptoporticus at a lower level than the front rooms, are discussed by Maiuri in *Not. Scavi*, 1933, 271-273.

[7] Martial, xii, 57, 21.

The lines of the spacious open-air area with the great *euripus* for axis were accentuated by the rows of large trees and the smaller shrubs and the pergolas which contributed a refreshing shade to harmonize with the cool plashing of the water. These effects were enhanced and contrasted by the products of the sculptor's and painter's arts. Motives suggesting Egypt and the cult of Isis constantly recur: while the two elaborate friezes in the large *salon* recall the tale of Troy and the exploits of Herakles, whose cult was maintained in special honor at Tibur, the ancestral home of the Loreii.

Well might the happy owner, or an admiring friend, adorn the street-front of this splendid residence with the words: *Imitari decet, non invidere!* [1]

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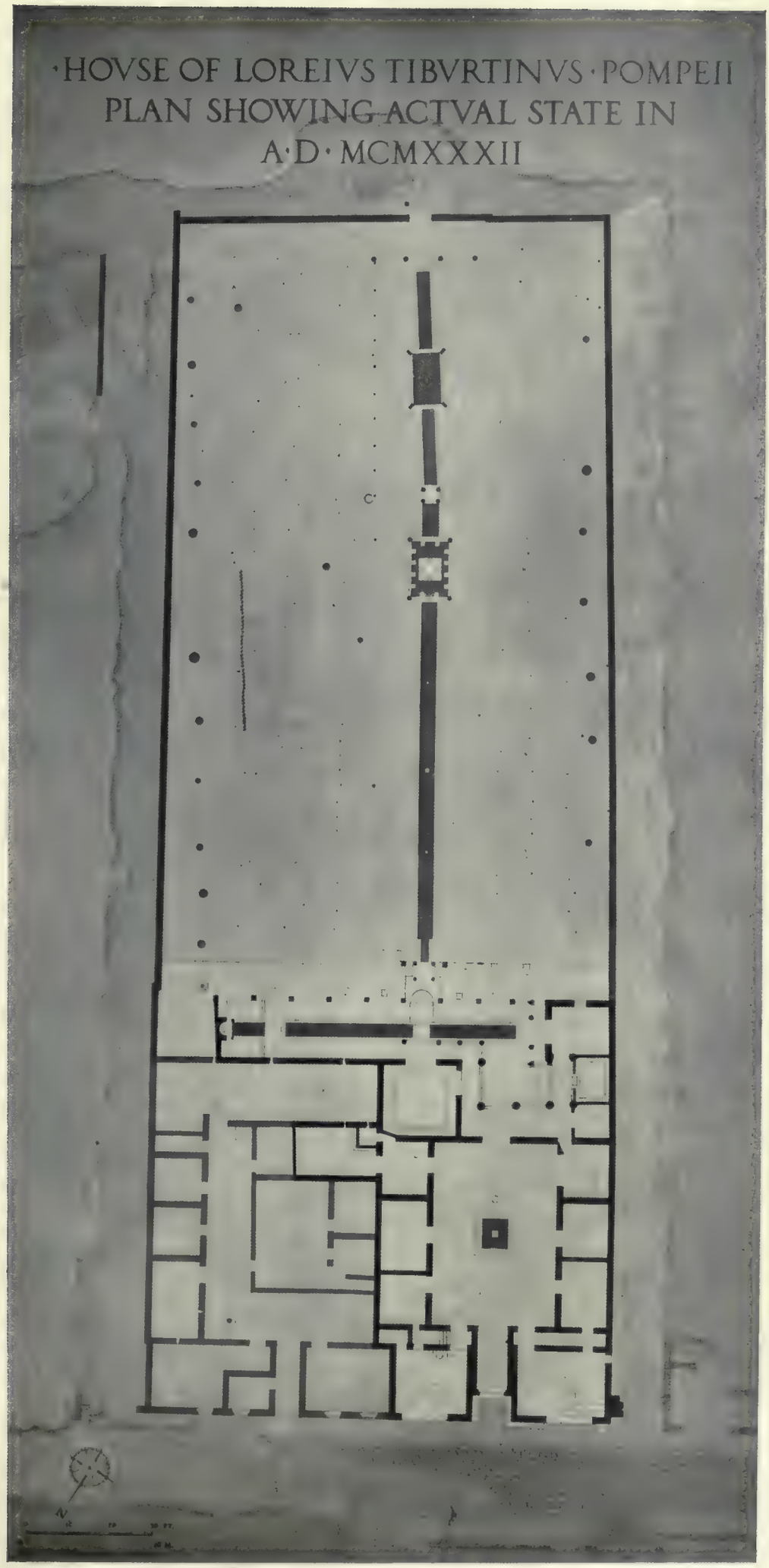
[1] If indeed these words actually refer to the house itself: for other suggestions, see the original publication, by Della Corte, *Not. Scavi*, 1919, p. 234, no. 21.



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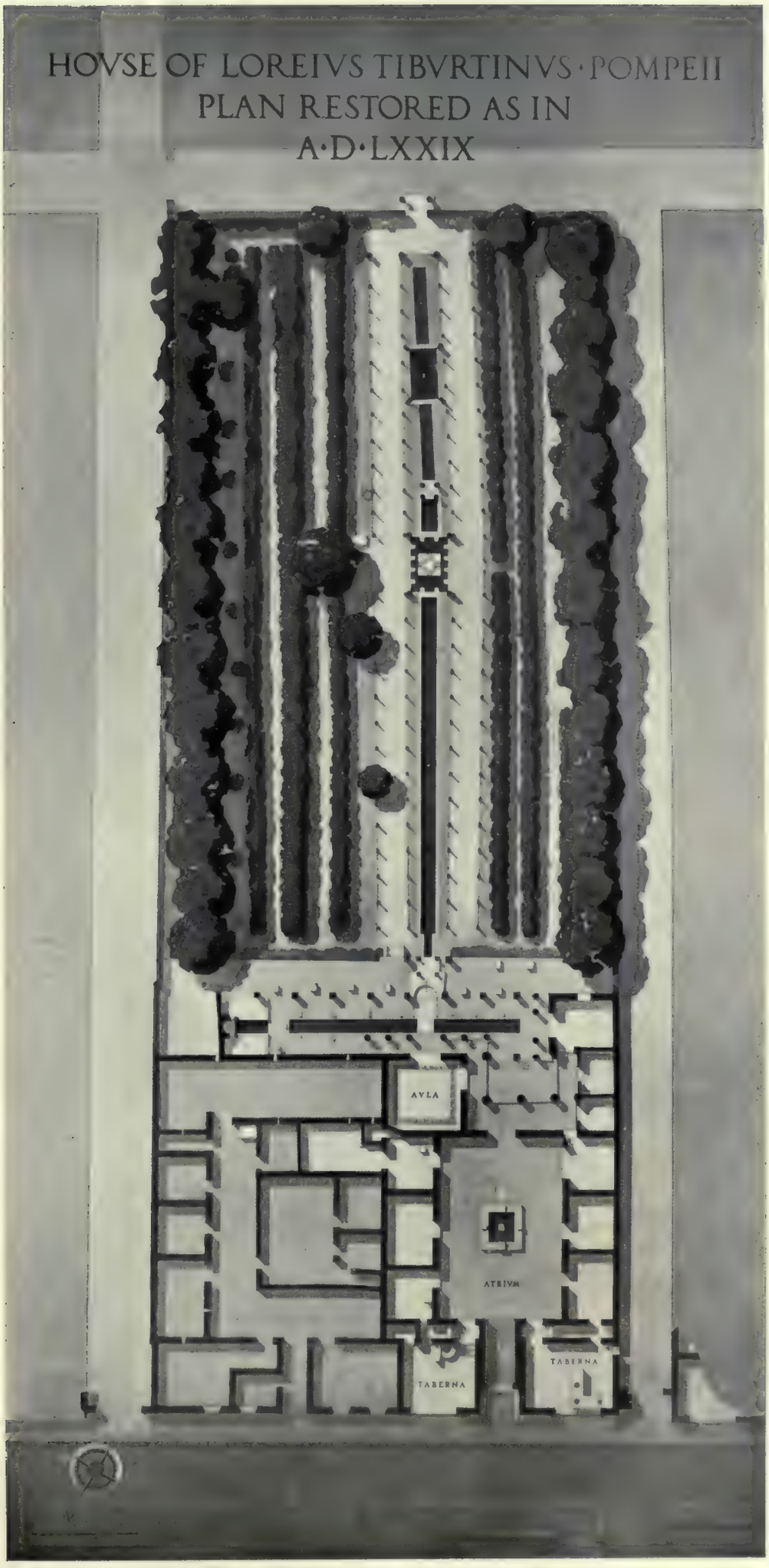

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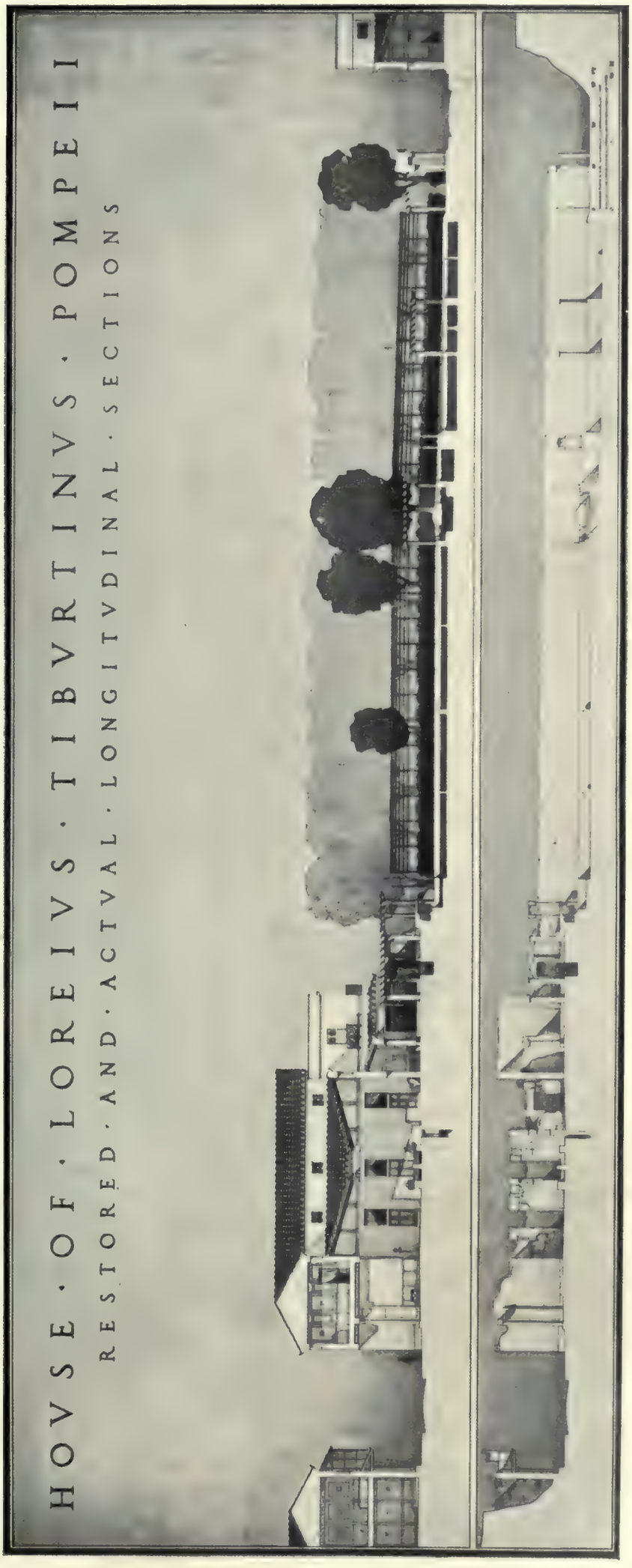


THOMAS D. PRICE.

THE EXCERPTS OF HEIRIC "EX LIBRIS VALERII MAXIMI MEMORABILIUM DICTORUM VEL FACTORUM" [1]

DOROTHY M. SCHULLIAN

(PLATES 14-17)

AMONG the works attributed to Heiric of Auxerre is a collection of excerpts from both classical and ecclesiastical authors, compiled from the dictation of his teachers Lupus of Ferrières and Haimo.[2] The collection includes a group of passages drawn from Valerius Maximus and thus presents material which is important for the critical activity of Lupus and his relation to the text tradition of the classical writer. Of these passages only scattered sections preserved in an incomplete manuscript have hitherto been printed;[3] there is in addition one detailed treatment of the entire group by Schnetz, who did not however publish the text of the transcription which he used.[4]

In connection with studies concerning the manuscripts accessible to Rodulfus Tortarius when he wrote his *De Memorabilibus*[5] it became necessary to consider the activity of Lupus and Heiric, and to reconstruct the text of the latter's excerpts from Valerius. For this reconstruction the following MSS. have been consulted:[6]

[1] The publication of these excerpts has been very materially assisted by the kind coöperation and helpful advice of Professor Marbury B. Ogle, who has also read the article in manuscript.

[2] It is unnecessary to include here a general discussion of the life and writings of Heiric. The following give representative treatments of the little which is known: *Acta Sanctorum Iunii*, edd. Socii Bollandiani, iv, 1707, 829-832; *Histoire Littéraire de la France* par les Religieux Bénédictins, v, 1740, 535-543; Polycarp Leyser, *Historia Poetarum et Poematum Medii Aevi*, 1741, 258-259; Papillon, *Bibliothèque des Auteurs de la Bourgogne*, i, 1742, 310-313; Jo. Albert Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Latina Mediae et Infimae Aetatis*, ii, 1754, Lib. v, 106-107; L.-M. Duru, *Bibliothèque Historique de l'Yonne*, ii, 1863, 1-248; Ernst Dümmler, in *Neues Archiv d. Gesellsch. f. ält. deutsche Geschichtskunde*, iv, 1878, 528-531; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini, iii, 1896, 421-517, ed. Ludwig Traube; Max Manitius, *Geschichte d. lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, Erster Teil, 1911, 499-504.

[3] Joseph Klein, *Über eine Handschrift des Nikolaus von Cues nebst ungedruckten Fragmenten Ciceronischer Reden*, 1866, 119-128. The few lines printed by Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta*, Nova Editio, 1723, 422 and Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, cxxiv, 1131 are unsatisfactory.

[4] *Ein Kritiker des Valerius Maximus im 9. Jahrhundert*, Neuburg a. D., 1901. Traube had furnished him with a transcription of Paris. lat. 8818.

[5] Edd. Marbury B. Ogle and Dorothy M. Schullian, *Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome*, viii, 1933, 1-245.

[6] My acquaintance with Nic. 92 and Brit. Mus. Add. 19835 is through photostats only; the others I have examined personally.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, latinus 8818 [1] (Pl. 14, Fig. 1), Saec. XI, a small parchment volume of 67 folios, size m. 0.17 × 0.11, written in one column in brown ink. A paper folio at the beginning bears on its recto in black ink and later hand the legend " Volume de 67 Feuillets, 27 décembre, 1890 ", and in the top margin of f. 1 occur the earlier numbers Reg. 4427 and Baluz. 561. The upper right-hand corners have been nibbled by mice, but not to the detriment of the text.

The works of Heiric begin on f. 1v with the poetical dedication of the entire collection of excerpts to Hildebold of Soissons. A late hand has written in the upper margin " Vide to. 1 Analectorum Mabillonij pag. 413 " and in the lower " Vide Acta Sanctorum ordine S. Benedicti Saeculo IV parte 1 pag. 620 ". The excerpts from Valerius, preserved in their complete form, follow immediately on f. 2 and run to f. 22v, at which point the manuscript continues with Heiric's excerpts from Suetonius. The greater part of the MS., ff. 29v-67v, is occupied with selections from ecclesiastical and philosophical writers and from Solinus. There are a few corrections throughout in a lighter ink.

Florence, R. Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. XX Cod. 48 [2] (Pl. 14, Fig. 2), Saec. XII, a parchment codex of 55 folios, size 0.194 × 0.107, written in a small but clear hand. Titles and the more important initial letters are in red. The inside of the front cover bears the notations h. n. 15 and n. 272, in a late hand, and the inside of the back cover the number 186. The earlier portion of the MS. contains theological matter; the excerpts from Valerius are found in their complete form, but without the poetical dedication, on ff. 40-46, and are followed by the excerpts from Suetonius and by passages from Solinus and philosophical writers. In the few cases where there are corrections in the Heiric text, they seem generally to be by the original hand.

Munich, Staatsbibliothek, latinus 14736 [3] (Pl. 16, Fig. 2), Saec. XII, a small parchment codex of 102 folios, size approximately 0.180 × 0.130, but varying slightly from gathering to gathering. The back of the volume bears the number CCCLIX, the front cover the notations 135, R25, 3FGG, and a blank unnumbered folio at the beginning the numbers 020, 135, and 122. The volume is a miscellany, containing seven different sections in as many hands, with much variation in the type of script employed. The great bulk of the contents is theological, and it is only at the end, ff. 97-102v, that Heiric's excerpts from Valerius are found. They occur without the rest of the collection to which they belong, and are themselves incomplete, beginning abruptly in the second book and breaking off at the beginning of the eighth. They are written in brown ink and have been compared with Kapp's text of Valerius, for a later hand has headed them with the title " Excerpta ex Valer. Maxim. Memorabil. Lib. II-VII cap. 6 " and on ff. 97 and 102 has made marginal annotations of corresponding pages in Kapp. This fact dates the hand of the notes after the year 1819, when Kapp's first edition was published.

Nice, Bibliothèque de la Ville, n. 92 [4] (Pl. 15), Saec. XII, a beautifully written parchment codex, size 0.268 × 0.173, of 160 folios, of which 120-131v contain the excerpts from Valerius Maximus, preceded by the poetical dedication and followed by the excerpts from Suetonius. Titles are in red, initials red and green. The MS. represents the complete form of the tradition.

London, Brit. Mus. Add. 19835 [5] (Pl. 16, Fig. 1), Saec. XII, a parchment volume of 46 folios, in quarto form,

[1] *Cf. Catalogus MSS. Bibliothecae Regiae*, Paris, iv, 1744, Pars iii; DÜMMLER, *op. cit.*, 531; TRAUBE, in *Abh. d. philos.-philol. Classe der k. bayer. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, xix, 1891, Zweite Abtheilung, 371, and *Rhein. Mus.*, xlvii, 1892, 560 f. (*Vorles. und Abh.*, iii, 121 f.); MAX IHM, in *Hermes*, xxxvi, 1901, 344; SCHNETZ, *op. cit.*, 20 and *passim* for readings; MANITIUS, *op. cit.*, 501.

[2] A. M. BANDINIUS, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae*, i, 1774, 654; L. PREUD'HOMME, in *Mémoires Couronnés et autres Mémoires publiés par l'Académie royale des sciences, des lettres, et des beaux-arts de Belgique*, lxiii, 1903-1904, 39.

[3] The MS. is described by HALM and LAUBMANN, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, iv. 2, 1868, 266, but the number of folios is given as 142, and the excerpts are not identified as Heiric's.

[4] J.-H. ALBANÈS, *Catalogue Générale des Bibliothèques Publiques de la France*, xiv, 1890, 464 f.; IHM, *loc. cit.*; PREUD'HOMME, *loc. cit.*; MANITIUS, *op. cit.*, 500.

[5] F. W. MADDEN, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, Second Series, viii, 1866, 160 n. 12 ascribes the excerpts to Fulbert. The *Catalogue of Additions to the MSS. of the British Museum in the years 1854-1860*, 1875, 9 names no excerptor. The identification was made by IHM, *op. cit.*, 345.

and written possibly in England; marginal notes of the fourteenth century on ff. 12v-14 and 19 are partly in English, but later annotations of the sixteenth century which occur throughout the book seem to be by an Italian hand. Parts of these were lost when the edges of the MS. were trimmed. A note at the beginning records that the MS. was purchased for the British Museum at Sir William Betham's sale, 1 June, 1854, lot 64.[1] The codex contains in addition to the excerpts from Valerius on ff. 4-12v those from Suetonius, various theological and liturgical pieces, and letters by Fulbert, Bishop of Chartres. The excerpts from Valerius represent the complete tradition.

Berncastel-Cues, Bibliothek des St.-Nicolaus-Hospitals, MS. 52, formerly 14 and 37,[2] Saec. XII. It is a ponderous volume of 331 folios, in parchment, size 0.280 × 0.195, written in two columns in brown ink in several small hands. The earlier part of the MS. contains a miscellany of various ecclesiastical decrees and selections from such authors as Augustine; in ff. 246-273v is preserved the florilegium of Sedulius Scottus, and upon this follows a leaf which is not an integral part of the MS. at all, but whose inner edge has been pasted to the inner edge of f. 275.[3] Three centimeters of its lower margin have been trimmed away. It contains fragments from the excerpts of Valerius by Heiric, running through its recto and the first half of the first column of its verso; the rest of the verso is blank, and with f. 275 the miscellany from various theological writers continues. The fragments include sections only from the first, sixth, seventh, and eighth books, and those incomplete.

Wolfenbüttel, Bibliotheca Augusta, Gud. lat. 150,[4] Saec. XIII, a parchment codex of 59 folios, size 0.243 × 0.160, written in several hands. It preserves in addition to the excerpts from Valerius the three books of Cicero's *De Officiis*, his *Paradoxa*, the *Invectiva* against Sallust, and the excerpts of Heiric from Suetonius, with scattered pieces also from other classical and later writers. The excerpts from Valerius are exceedingly fragmentary; they commence on f. 45v, are interrupted on f. 46 with ecclesiastical matter, and continue with some repetition on f. 46v. Paragraph marks are in red, but the red titles which occur elsewhere in the MS. are not found in the Valerius section.

Leipzig, Stadtbibliothek, Rep. I. 4. 48[5] (Pl. 17), Saec. XIII, a parchment codex of 141 folios, formerly belonging, as a bookplate on the inside of the front cover indicates, to Joh. Christophorus Wagenseilius. The size of the MS. is 0.225 × 0.155; it contains in addition to the excerpts from Valerius on ff. 98-103v the letters of Sidonius Apollinaris with his panegyric on Anthemius and Majorianus, Heiric's excerpts from Suetonius, and the *Ovidiana* of Bursarius. Titles are in red elsewhere in the MS., but in the section preserving the excerpts from Valerius there are only a few scattered initials in red. The tradition is complete until the seventh book, where the text stops with the third chapter.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, latinus 13432,[6] Saec. XIV, a miscellany in parchment, written in several hands. It consists of 206 folios, size 0.230 × 0.160. The back bears the faded number 570, and the upper margin of the first folio the notation in a late hand " St.i Germani a Pratis, n. 868 ". The content is almost entirely theological, mostly sermons by Innocent III and others, but ff. 29 and 30, written in two columns, have been introduced from another source : f. 29 preserves excerpts from Suetonius, and 29v and 30 fragments from Heiric's Valerius. The latter are too fragmentary to be of much value for the text, and in many cases the readings have been arbitrarily changed.

[1] For this information I am indebted to Mr. H. I. Bell, Keeper of the MSS., in a letter under date of Dec. 28, 1933.

[2] *Cf.* KLEIN, *op. cit.* and J. MARX, *Verzeichnis der Handschriften-Sammlung des Hospitals zu Cues*, 1905.

[3] This fact was first noticed by KLEIN, 118, and his conclusions were supported by TRAUBE (*Abh. bayer. Akad.*, xix, 1891, 371). S. HELLMANN in *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters*, i, 1906, Erstes Heft, 92-117 treats of the florilegium of Sedulius, including the three sections from Valerius which are found therein on f. 260, but does not discuss those of Heiric occurring on f. 274.

[4] PREUD'HOMME, *loc. cit.*; FRANZ KOEHLER and GUSTAV MILCHSACK, *Die gudischen Handschriften*, 1913, 167.

[5] A. NAUMANN, *Catalogus Librorum Manuscriptorum qui in bibliotheca senatoris civitatis Lipsiensis asservantur*, 1838; TH. MÖBIUS, in *Philol.*, i, 1846, 636; ROTH, ed. *Suetonius*, 1893, xxxii; IHM, *loc. cit.*

[6] B. HAURÉAU, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, i, 1890; IHM, *loc. cit.*

It remains to record an early manuscript which once contained the excerpts from Valerius, but from which unfortunately the two quaternions preserving Heiric have been lost. The manuscript is Paris. lat. 18296, of the tenth century, written at Corbie and transferred later to St. Germain, where Mabillon used it. The Eclogues of Radbertus Paschasius end on f. 67v and a new quaternion begins abruptly with f. 68 in the middle of a sentence excerpted from the Church Fathers by Heiric; in the lower margin of this leaf Mabillon has recorded " Haec Collectanea sunt Heirici Monachi Autisiodorensis, ut fidem faciunt versus a me editi in T. I Analectorum, qui hinc avulsi sunt ". Reckoning from the content of Paris. lat. 8818 Traube [1] concluded that between ff. 67 and 68 sixteen folios of the excerpts of Heiric from Valerius and Suetonius have been lost.

The following is the reconstructed text of the excerpts from Valerius Maximus which, culled from that author by Lupus of Ferrières and dictated to his pupils in the class-room, were preserved in short-hand by Heiric at the time of the lectures and later expanded for the collection of excerpts. [2] It is well to bear in mind their stenographic nature in cases where the text seems incomplete or even ungrammatical.

[1] *Cf.* in *Rhein. Mus.*, xlvii, 1892, 560 (*Vorles. und Abh.*, iii, 121). His conclusions have been kindly verified for me by M. H. Omont in a letter under date of Jan. 4, 1934. *Cf.* also DÜMMLER, *op. cit.* 302. At the time that I visited Paris the MS. was at the bindery and inaccessible to me.

[2] The following lines from the poetical dedication to Hildebold, preserved in Paris. lat. 8818 and Nic. 92 and printed most recently by TRAUBE (*Mon. Germ. Hist.*, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini, iii, 427) reveal the process:

Hic praeceptorum sunt ludicra pulchra duorum,
Quis ego praesulibus ingenium colui.
His Lupus, his Haimo ludebant ordine grato,
Cum quid ludendum tempus et hora daret.
Humanis alter, divinis calluit alter:
Excellet titulis clarus uterque suis.
Haec ego tum notulas doctus tractare furaces
Stringebam digitis arte favente citis.
Nec prius illa tamen liquido disponere versu
Cura fuit, nisi nunc cum tibi danda forent.

SIGLA[1]

p Paris. lat. 8818, Saec. XI
l Laurent. XX. 48, Saec. XII
m Monac. lat. 14736, Saec. XII
n Nic. 92, Saec. XII
a Brit. Mus. Add. 19835, Saec. XII
c Cus. 52, Saec. XII
g Guelferb. Gud. lat. 150, Saec. XIII
r Lips. Rep. I. 4. 48, Saec. XIII
b Paris. lat. 13432, Saec. XIV

EX LIBRIS VALERII MAXIMI MEMORABILIUM DICTORUM VEL FACTORUM

Val. Max. I. 1. 5 Sulpicio sacerdoti inter sacrificandum lapsus apex de capite sacerdotium abstulit, occentus soricis auditus Fabio M. dictaturam.

I. 1. 13 Tarquinius rex quendam, quod librum secretorum civilium cuidam scribendum dederat, culleo insutum in mare praecipitavit.

I. 1. ext. 3 Dyonisius Syracusanus detracto Iovi aureo amiculo et iniecto ei laneo ioco dixit aestate gravem esse aureum amiculum, hieme frigidum, laneum autem ad utrumque tempus anni aptum. idem coronas et pateras quae deorum erant tollens dicebat se non ea tollere sed accipere, stultum esse dicens a quibus bona precamur, ab his porrigentibus nolle sumere.

DE OMINIBUS

I. 5. 2 Camillus, cum esset precatus ut, si cui deorum felicitas populi Romani gravis videretur, eius invidia suo aliquo incommodo satiaretur, subito lapsu decidit, malum omen suae perditionis.

[1] Minutiae of spelling have been reported in the critical apparatus for the sake of consistency, since in some cases they seemed significant.

1 LIBIS *c* MAXIMI *om. b* MIRABILIUM *g* MEMORABILITER DICTA VEL FACTA *b* Excerpta ex Valer. Maximi Memorabil. Lib. II-VII cap. 6 *man. recent. scr., et* 2 Sulpicio sacerdoti---105 prius sumpto *om. m* Ex Valerio Maximo I, 1, 4 *in mrg. man. recent. scr. g* || 2 Sulpitio *na et* (*add.* sei) *c* Salpitio *g* lapsus apex de vertice inter sacrificandum *b* sacerdocium *cgrb* || 3 occentus] i. cantus *suprascr. l* occentus soricis---5 mare praecipitavit *om. b* soriris, *corr. e* sorcris *g* M. *om. g* dictaturam: c *suprascr. p* dicta *n* dictam turam *c* dictaturam] s. abstulit *suprascr. l*, abstulit *add. g* || 5 insitim *c* || 6 dyonisius syracusanus---10 nolle sumere *om. c* dionisius *agb* siracusanus *nagb* detracto Iovi---8 aptum idem *om. b* Iovi *om. g* aureo] levi *g* lanceo *g* || 7 aestatem, a *secunda suprascr. l* estate *r* hyeme *nr* lanceum *g* || 8 utrumque anni tempus *l* aptum *om. g* que *g* || 10 praecamur *a* nolle *om. a* || 11 DE OMINIBUS---17 nomine persa *om. b* OMINIBUS *corr. ex* HOMINIBUS, H *expunct. p* HOMINIBUS *lnc* OMNIBUS *gr* || 12 camillus cum---19 suo comprobavit f. 46v *iterum scr. g* Damillus *n* praecatus *a* si cui] sicut *c* feliciter f. 46v *g* || 13 videretur] *add.* subito lapsu *c* inconmodo *c* saciaretur *pc* || 14 lapsu

I. 5. 3 Paulus consul cum Persa rege proeliaturus parvulam filiolam tristem videns causam interrogavit. quae respondit Persam perisse. decesserat autem catellus, nomine Persa.

I. 5. 9 Petilius consul montem, cui Leto cognomen erat, oppugnans ait ' ego hodie Letum capiam ', quod leto suo comprobavit.

DE PRODIGIIS

I. 6. ext. 2 Midae regi adhuc puero dormienti formicae in os grana tritici congerebant. augures dixerunt omnium mortalium illum fore ditissimum.

I. 6. ext. 3 Dormienti Platoni in cunis apes mel labellis parvuli inserebant, significantes singularis eloquii suavitatem.

DE SOMNIIS

I. 7. 1 Augusto contra Brutum pugnaturo Minerva Artorio medico in somnis praecepit ut illum moneret ne propter morbum proelio non interesset. quod cum audisset lectica se in proelium ferri fecit.

I. 7. 2 Calpurnia uxor Iulii ea nocte, quam is in terra ultimam egit, in somnis vidit eum multis vulneribus confectum in sinu suo iacentem. exterrita rogavit eum in crastinum a curia abstinere, quod ille, ne mulieris somnio id egisse videretur, distulit.

I. 7. 7 Victo Antonio Cassius quidam, qui partibus eius consenserat, Athenas fugit, ubi cum sollicitudinis plenus dormisset, vidit ad se venire hominem ingentem, nigrum, barbatum: interrogatus quis esset respondit ΚΑΚΩΝ ΔΗΜΟΝΑ. sciscitatis servis utrum aliquis talis fuisset ingressus iterum dormivit, item eandem speciem vidit. fugato somno lumen iussit afferri et pueros a se discedere vetuit. non multo post a Caesare capite plexus est.

corr. e lapsus, s *eras.* *p* omin *a* sue *c et bis g* || 15 parvulum *c* parvulam *om.* f. 45v *g* || 16 que *c et bis g* || 17 persam nomen cat.... *in mrg. man. recent. scr. a* || 18 Cretibus *linea induct. et* Petilius *suprascr. a* consus *c* laeto *lna* letum *bis g* nomen *b* obpugnans *pn* ob pugnas *c* appugnans *r* || 19 hedie *c* loetum *p* laetum *n* capia *c* loeto *p* laeto, *et* i. morte *suprascr. l* suo *om. c* suo] sue mortis *b* || 20 DE PRODIGIIS *om. b* || 21 midas ditissim.... *in mrg. man. recent. scr. a* mide *cgrb* rege *g* dormienti *corr. e* dormiente, e *secunda expunct. et* i *suprascr. g* formice *cgb* grana *om. b* triticum *b* congerebant *om. c* convectabant *b* || 22 dicebant *arb* fere *r* ditisimum *pn* || 23 platoni *om. g* mal *c* labiis *p* parvuli *om. b* || 24 singularis] suavis *b* eloquiis *c* suavitatem] dulcedinem *b* || 25 DE SOMNIIS---32 videretur distulit *om. c*,---28 ferri fecit *om. b*,---166 CENSORIA NOTA *om. g* || 26 sompnis *n* || 27 praelio *a* || 28 lactica *p* in proelium se *r* || 29 is *om. l* terris *b* egit] gessit *arb* || 30 eum vidit *b* confectum] confossum *b* || 31 crastina a curium *a* crastino *b* a curia *om. b* ille] *add.* renuit *b* somno *n* || 32 id egisse] credidisse *b* distulit *om. b* || 33 victo Antonio--42 numquam viderat *om. b* cassus *cn* consenserat: u *super* o *scr. c* athenis *c* || 34 dormisset: s *prior. suprascr. p* venire] vidit *suprascr. l* || 35 interrogatus *corr. ex* interrogans, ns *linea subduct. et* tus *suprascr. c* || 36 AMONA *l* AHMONA *nar* ΚΑΚΩΝ ΔΗΜΟΝΑ *om. c* siscitatis *l* suscitatis *c* servis] sermonis *a* talis *om. c, add.* ad se *ar* dormiente *c* || 37 eadem *c* sonno *c* || 38 discedere: de *suprascr. pa* discere *c* vetuit *om. c* mul *c* cesare *lnacr* capite plexus]

I. 7. 8 De Aterio Rufo, qui vidit se manu retiarii confodi, quod in crastinum contigit.

I. 7. ext. 2 De Alexandro Magno, qui manu Cassandri se periturum cognovit, quem numquam viderat.

I. 7. ext. 3 Simonides poeta, cum ad litus navem appulisset et corpus inhumatum iacens sepelisset, ammonitus ab eo ne proximo die navigaret, in terra remansit. qui navigare coeperunt in conspectu eius fluctibus et procellis obruti sunt.

I. 7. ext. 6 De muliere quae in somnis in caelum ducta vidit virum terribilem ligatum Iovis pedibus iacere substratum. quem postea Dyonisium Syracusanum tyrannum esse intellexit.

I. 7. ext. 8 Amilchari duci Carthaginis, cum obsideret Syracusas, dictum est per somnium futurum ut proxima die in eadem urbe cenaret. quod in crastinum fecit, non victor sed captivus.

I. 7. ext. 9 Alcibiades pallio amicae quo se dormiens opertum viderat et sepultus iacens opertus est.

I. 7. ext. 10 Duo Archades iter facientes, alter se ad hospitem contulit, alter in tabernam meritoriam devertit. is, qui in hospitio erat, vidit in somnis comitem suum orantem ut sibi a caupone oppresso subveniret. excitatus somnum repetit, socius ei sauciatus apparuit, ut, quoniam auxilium ferre ei noluerat, vel mortuum vindicaret, dicens corpus suum tunc a caupone ferri plaustro ad portam, stercore coopertum, quod evigilans ita invenit, cauponem vero ad capitale supplicium deduxit.

DE MIRACULIS

I. 8. 8 Cassius, qui Iulium Caesarem in senatu interfecit, cum esset in proelio,

extinctus *ar* plexus est] *add.* DE LEATERIO *c* || 39 de] e *r* arterio *ar* leaterio *c* quidit *r* reciatii *r* || 40 contigit *om. c* || 41 alexando *c* casandri *plnc* cessandri *r* se periturum] semper iterum *c* || 42 numquam viderat *litt. maiusc. scr. c* nunquam *a* || 43 symonides *nr* imonides *a* littus *n* navim *crb* apulisset *c* || 44 iacens] non *c* sepelisset: *ante* l l *litt. eras. p* admonitus *c* proxima *c* in terra remansit *suprascr. p* in terra *om. c* remansit] *add.* sic *c* || 45 qui] *add.* autem *b* navigare coeperunt] navigaverunt *b* ceperunt *lr* ceperant *c* in conspectu eius *om. b ante* fluctibus 13 *litt. eras. p* fluctibus] ventis *b* et procellis *om. c* abruti *n* || 47 que *nc* celum *plcr* terribilem virum *ar* De muliere---49 esse intellexit *om. b* || 48 iovis] unius *r* pedibus] *add.* fuisse vel *r* dionisium *lac* siracusanum *lnar* || 49 tirannum *a* esse *om. c* || 50 amilcari *rb et* (a *prior. suprascr.*) *a* ducis *c* chartaginis *l* cartaginis *arb* siracusas *lnarb* || 51 somnnium, n *prior. linea subduct. c* futurum *om. b* proxima die] crastino *b* caenaret *plna* || 52 crastino *b* in crastinum] postea *c* crastinum] crastina die *l* || 53 alciabides *a* amice *cb* opertum dormiens *b* sepultum *n* et sepultus iacens] etiam mortuus *b* || 54 opertus *corr. ex* oportus, o *expunct. et* e *suprascr. b* || 55 duo archades---449 ex Senonibus *om. c*, ---68 rogo revixisse *om. b* || 56 divertit *lar* his *l* hospicio *r* sompnis *n* || 57 a *suprascr. a* obpresso *n* subvenire *l* || 58 sompnum *n* somnium *r* sotius *pl* eius *r* sautiatus *p* ei ferre *l* || 59 tunc corpus suum *l* || 60 plaustro: u *suprascr. r* || 61 vero *om. pln* supplitium *n* || 63 cesarem *lnar*

vidit Iulium purpureo paludamento amictum in se impetum facere. quo perterritus tergum dedit.

I. 8. 12 Acilius, diu creditus mortuus, rogo impositus vivere se proclamavit.

I. 8. ext. 1 Plato scribit Pamphilum decem diebus inter eos, qui in acie ceciderant, iacuisse, postea impositum rogo revixisse.

I. 8. ext. 2 Quidam eruditus Atheniensis, cum ictum lapidis capite excepisset, cetera omnia memoria retinens litterarum tantum modo, quibus inservierat, oblitus est.

I. 8. ext. 3 Nausimenis Atheniensis uxor, cum filii et filiae suae stupro intervenisset, inopinato perculsa stupore et in praesens tempus ad indignandum et in posterum ad loquendum obmutuit.

I. 8. ext. 4 Egles Samius athleta mutus, cum ei victoriae, quam adeptus erat, titulus et praemium eriperetur, indignatione accensus vocalis evasit.

I. 8. ext. 5 Gorgias Epirota dum mater eius mortua feretro portaretur utero lapsus inopinato vagitu ferentes stare coegit.

I. 8. ext. 6 Phedreum, cum quidam exitii eius cupidus percussisset, vomicam, quae a nullo medicorum sanari poterat, rupit, et hominem malo liberavit.

I. 8. ext. 7 Simonides cum apud Scopam cenaret, nuntiatum est ei duos iuvenes ad ianuam stare rogantes ut ad eos continuo prodiret. quo cum exisset neminem repperit. eo momento triclinium collapsum omnes convivas oppressit.

I. 8. ext. 8 De Dafanite obtrectore deorum qui, cum ludo consuluisset Apollinem an equum invenire posset quem numquam habuerat responsum est ei quod inveniret equum, de quo proturbatus periret. inde cum reverteretur, incidit in Attalum eiusque iussu de monte quodam qui vocatur Equus praecipitatus est.

I. 8. ext. 9 Philippus pater Alexandri ammonitus ut a quadrigae violentia salutem custodiret, omnes currus per totum regnum disiungi praecepit, locum etiam

praelio *a* || 64 paludamento purpureo *a* palliamento purpureo *r* in se] facere *suprascr. l* inpetum *l* || 66 rogo *corr. e* togo *r* inpositus *p* || 67 pamphylum *n* || 68 inpositum *pl* rogo *corr. e* rago, o *suprascr. r* revixississe *r* || 69 lapidis ictum *b* excaepisset *p* recepisset *b* || 70 caetera *la* memeriter tenens *b* insevierat *r* quibus inservierat] quas edoctus erat *b* || 72 pausimenis *a* uxor atheniensis *a* athenis *b* filie *r* filie sue *b* stupro *corr. e* strupro, r *prior. expunct. n* || 74 opmutuit *n* ommutuit *a* || 75 atleta *l* atheeta *g* victorie *n* egles samius---76 vocalis evasit *om. b* || 76 tytulis *r* premium *n* || 77 portaretur] efferetur, *et add.* de *b* || 78 inopinato *corr. ex* inopinatu, u *expunct. et* o *suprascr. b* ferentes] portantes *l* || 79 phedreum cum---80 malo liberavit *om. b* vomicam] i. generis apostomatis *suprascr. l* || 81 symonides *n* caenaret *plna* nunciatum *b* est *suprascr. l* || 82 quo] qui *b* || 83 reperit *arb* || 84 bedafanite *a* daffanites *b* obtrectatorem *a* obtrectatore *r* obtrectator *b* qui *om. b* ludo consuluisset] quaesisset *b* apollinem *p* || 85 an] utrum *b* equm *lb* aequum *a* posset invenire *b* nunquam *a* qui nullum unquam *b* ei est *n* ei *om. b* || 86 equum inveniret *b* equm *l* aequum *na* perturbatus *rb* || 87 attalum *corr. ex* attalium, i *expunct. n* vocatus est *b* equs *lb* aequus *a* || 89 phylippus *p* phyllippus *n* *add.* putative *b* a *om. a* quadrige *pnrb* violencia *b* || 90 locum etiam--- *fin. om. b* aetiam *n* ||

qui in Boetia Quadriga dicebatur, semper vitavit. sed Pausanias in capulo gladii, quo eum occidit, quadrigam habuit caelatam.

I. 8. ext. 10 Calanus Indus sua sponte ardenti rogo superiectus, interrogatus ab Alexandro quid ei mandaret, 'brevi te' inquit 'videbo.'

I. 8. ext. 14 Quidam adeo perspicax in visu fuit, ut a Lilibeo portu Carthaginiensium classes egredientes intueretur.

I. 8. ext. 15 Aristomenis cor Athenienses ob nimiam calliditatem exsectum pilosum invenerunt.

I. 8. ext. 16 Antipater poeta uno tantum die, quo genitus erat, febre laborabat omnibus annis, quo et mortuus est.

I. 8. ext. 19 In Africa apud Bagrada flumen fuit serpens cuius corium CXX pedum. allatum est Romam.

DE INSTITUTIS ANTIQUIS LIBRO II

II. 1. 1 Apud antiquos non solum publice sed etiam privatim nichil gerebatur nisi auspicio prius sumpto.

II. 1. 2 Feminae cum viris cubantibus sedentes cenitabant.

II. 1. 4 Non debere praeponi cupiditatem liberorum fidei coniugali.

II. 1. 5 Vini usum olim Romanis feminis abdicatum.

II. 1. 4 Repudium inter uxorem et virum primitus non fuisse.

II. 1. 6 Iurgio vero intercedente, in sacellum deae Viriplacae veniebant, in concordiam reversuri.

II. 1. 7 Olim nec pater cum filio nec socer cum genero lavabantur.

II. 2. 2 Magistratus Romanorum Graecis non nisi latine respondebant, et hoc per interpretem, ut Latinae linguae honor venerabilior haberetur.

II. 2. 3 Mirum de Cicerone, quod fuerit litterarum contemptor et quod earum abundantissimus fons.

II. 2. 5 Legati a senatu Tarentum missi, cum graves iniurias accepissent, ita ut unus etiam urina respergeretur, in theatrum inducti legationem suam peregerunt. de his vero, quae passi erant, nichil questi sunt, ne quid ultra quam mandatum esset loquerentur.

91 boecia *r* quadraga *a* || 92 qui *r* celatam *lnr* elatam *a* || 93 salanus *a* calatus *r* || 94 inquit *corr. ex* inquid, t *suprascr. n* || 95 s. strabo *add. in mrg. r* cartaginensium *pla* carthaginensium *nr* || 96 intueretur egredientes *ar* intueretur *corr. ex* intuerentur, n *secunda expunct. n* || 97 aristomenis: i *prior. suprascr. p* aristhomenis *a* atthenienses *a et* (h *suprascr.*) *n* pilosum *suprascr. l* || 99 die *om. a* || 101 affrica *lar* || 102 ablatum *na* rome *p* romae *ln* || 103 LIBRO II *om. a* || 104 puplice *l* privatum *p* nihil *p* || 105 auspitio *p* || 106 femini, *corr. e* feminis, s *eras. m litt.* is cuba *vix legi possunt m* caenitabant *a* caeniteabant, *et* certabant *man. recent. suprascr. n* cenitabant *om. r* || 108 romani *p* || 110 saccellum *ar* daeae *r* viriplace *lnr* || 113 grecis *pmn* respondebat *plmn* || 114 latine *pl* lingue *pr* || 115 fuit *r* litterarum fuit *n* conteptor *l* || 116 habundantissimus *lmr* || 118 ita etiam ut unus *l* respergeretur *corr. ex* aspergeretur *l* || 119 vero *suprascr. p* nihil *p* erant] sunt *m* quaesti *pla* ||

II. 2. 7 Tribunos populi intrare curiam non licebat, sed ante valvas positis subselliis residebant.

II. 3. 2 Publius Rutilius consul doctoribus gladiatorum accersitis vitandi atque feriendi ictus rationem instituit.

II. 5. 5 Maximis viris prandere in propatulo verecundia non erat, et frequenter apud eos pultis usus quam panis erat.

II. 6. 1 Luxuria ciborum et secundae mensae apud Iones repertae.

II. 6. 2 Punicis primum Graeci in proelio tunicis utebantur ad celanda vulnera.

II. 6. 6 Athenis a patrono libertus ingratus libertate exuitur, dicente sibi 'abi noster et servus esto, quia liber esse nescisti.'

II. 6. 7 A condita Massilia gladius ibi est, quo noxii iugulantur, rubigine quidem exesus, sed ob monimentum vetustatis. ibi etiam servatur venenum cicuta temperatum, quod datur ei, qui consilia senatus publicaverit.

II. 6. 9 Eorum urbem nemo cum telo ingreditur.

II. 6. 8 De femina XC annorum, quae apud Iulidae oppidum Graeciae praesente Pompeio venenum hausit, reddita ratione cur vita deberet excedere, cui illa, revocare eam cupienti sed non valenti, 'tibi', inquit 'Sexte Pompei, dii magis quos relinquo quam quos peto gratias referant, quod nec hortator vitae meae nec mortis spectator esse fastidisti.' haustoque constanter veneno et invocato Mercurio, ut eam in meliorem inferni duceret partem, cum iam venenum cordi imminere sensisset, a filia oculos sibi claudi fecit.

II. 6. 11 Cimbri in acie quasi feliciter morituri exultabant, in morbo lamentabantur quasi infeliciter perituri.

II. 6. 13 Lycii tempore luctus muliebrem vestem induunt, ut deformitate moniti cito merorem deponant.

II. 6. 16 Persae non aspiciunt filios ante septem annos, quo parvulorum amissionem aequanimiter ferant.

II. 6. 17 Reges Numidae neminem mortalium osculantur.

121 positi *r* || 123 rutileus *r* || 124 racionem *m* || 127 cyborum *lr* secunde *r* mense *lr* reperte *ln* reperta *r* *add.* sunt *ar* || 128 punicis] hunicis *a* greci *pmn* tunicis *om. m* vulneranda *a* || 129 thenis *m* athenis: a *e* d *corr.*? *a* patronio *mn* || 130 esto servus *ar* noluisti, *linea subduct. et* nescisti *suprascr. l* || 131 a *suprascr. a* || 132 aetiam *n* venenum *om. m* || 133 cicuta: c *secunda suprascr. r* temperatum *corr. e* temperamentum, men *expunct. r* consilium *r* puplicaverit *l* || 134 eorum *corr. ex* eoouro *r* || 135 quae *om. m* que *n* quod *r* iulide *ar* greciae *pmn* gretiae *a* || 136 ponpeio *r* racione *mr* deberet: t *suprascr. r* || 137 eam revocare *l* sexter *pl* sextae *a* || 138 ponpei *p* pompeii *l* praeponi pompei, praeponi *linea subduct. r* divi: i *secunda suprascr. a* || 139 vite *r* || 140 partem inferni deduceret *ar* || 141 imminere: m *prior. suprascr. p* inminere *m* sibi claudi oculos *ar* occulos *n* || 142 faecit *l* || 143 cymbri *ln* lamentabantur *corr. e* labentabantur, b *expunct. et* m *suprascr. m* || 144 infeliciter: in *suprascr. r* perituri *vix legi potest l* perituri] morituri *r* || 145 lytii *n* licii *r* ticii *a* || 147 perse *nr* persae non vident filios ante septem annos *in mrg. man. recent. add. a* aspitiunt *n* || 148 equanimiter *lmnr* || 149 numide *ln* ||

DE DISCIPLINA MILITARI

II. 7. 15 Hannibal cum senatui $\overline{\text{VII}}$ Romanorum, quae in castris ceperat, redimendi conditionem proposuisset, sprevit senatus memor tantam multitudinem, si honeste mori voluisset, turpiter capi non potuisse.

II. 7. ext. 2 Clearcus Lacedemoniorum dux dicebat a militibus imperatorem potius quam hostem timeri debere. nec mirum haec a duce praecipi, cum matres eorum ad proelium exituros monerent ut aut vivi cum armis in conspectum earum venirent aut mortui in armis referrentur.

DE IURE TRIUMPHANDI

II. 8. 1 Lege cautum est ne quis triumpharet nisi qui quinque milia hostium una acie cecidisset. poena etiam minabatur his, qui aut hostium occisorum aut amissorum civium in proelio falsum numerum senatui litteris retulissent. iubebantur autem mox ut urbem intrarent iurare de utroque numero se vera scripsisse.

II. 8. 7 Quamvis quis praeclaras res maximeque utiles rei publicae civili bello gessisset, imperator tamen neque ovans neque curru triumphavit.

DE CENSORIA NOTA

II. 9. 1 Qui ad senectutem caelibes pervenerant digni iudicati sunt puniri aeraque pro poena in aerarium ferre iussi sunt Camillo Postumio censoribus.

DE MAIESTATE PRIVATA

II. 10. 6 Missus servus publicus ad occidendum Marium in privata domo Minturnis clausum strictum gladium tenens aggredi non est ausus, et claritatem viri non ferens abiecto ferro tremens aufugit.

151 annibal *pna* senatui: i *suprascr. r* VII] vim *l* VI milia *m* VI m., VI *suprascr. n* VII *r* que *n* quos *r* coeperat *pm* caeperat *na* || 152 condicionem *lm* sprevit: r *suprascr. r* tanta multitudine *m* || 153 si *suprascr. l* noluisset *r* || 154 cleartus *lmnr* a *om., fort. eras. a* inperatorem *m* || 155 pocius *mr* timere *ar* || 156 praelium *n* monerent *om. m* || 157 conspectu *mr* referrentur: n *suprascr. m,* r *secunda suprascr. n* || 158 TRIUNPHANDI *m* || 160 cecidisset *corr. e* cicidisset *a* cicidisset *lmr et* (*corr. e* cecidisset) *p* pena *mrl* minabitur *l* || 162 retulisset *m* iubebatur *m* ut] *add.* iuberent, *sed expunct. r* urbem *om. r* intrarant *a* se de utroque numero *l* || 163 scripsisse] *add.* DE IURE TRIUMPHANDI *p* DE IURAE TRIUMPHANDI *n* DE IURE TRI *l* ITEM *m* || 164 quis *suprascr. a* quis: s *suprascr. r* preclaras *nr* maxime *m* r. p. *plmar et* (*corr. e* r. s., s *expunct. et* p *suprascr.*) *n* || 165 ovans: n *suprascr. m* tamen *om. post* imperator, *add. post* ovans *m* curru *om. m* || 167 senectutem] necessitatem *r* celibes *mgr* || 168 eraque *mr* pena *g* erarium *mg* postumio: o *secunda suprascr. p* postomio *m* postumiano *a* censoribus] *add.* audro numquam deerit causa negandi, *et sequuntur glossae in canticum B. Mariae Virginis f.* 46 *g* || 170 DE MAIESTATE---224 CLARI EVASERINT *om. g* DE MAIESTATE PRIVATA *in mrg. scr. l* || 171 issus (m *om.*) *r* || 172 minturiis *a* adgredi *pln* || 173 abiecto ferro tremens *om. l* autfugit *p* aufugit *corr. ex* aut fugit, t

II. 10. ext. 2 Xenocrati tantam auctoritatem sua sapientia attulit ut, cum testimonium dicens coactus ad aram accessisset ut iuraret omnia se vere retulisse, a iudicibus prohibitus est iurare.

DE FORTITUDINE LIBRO III DE INDOLE

III. 2. 1 De Horatio Coclite, qui pugnantibus Etruscis totum impetum pugnantium, donec pons post tergum suum abrumperetur, solus sustinuit ac deinceps se in fluvium cum armis proiciens natatu evasit.

III. 2. 11 De milite qui apud Cannas contra Hannibalem pugnans, cum haberet manus vulneribus ad retinendum arma inutiles, spoliare se conantem cervice amplexus os nares aures corrosit et inter ipsos morsus expiravit.

III. 2. 12 P. Crassus ab hostibus exceptus virgam, qua ad regendum equum usus fuerat, in unius barbari oculum direxit. qui vi doloris accensus latus Crassi sica confodit.

III. 2. 15 De Portia uxore Bruti, quae cognito consilio viri contra Augustum cultellum tonsorum quasi ad ungues resecandos accepit eoque velut elapso se vulneravit. increpata a viro ait ' non temere ', inquit, ' egi, sed experiri volui, si tibi propositum ex sententia cessisset, quam aequo animo me ferro interimerem.'

III. 2. 19 Caesar Iulius, cum contra Nervios pugnans aciem suam flecti videret, timidius pugnanti militi scutum detraxit eoque tectus acriter pugnavit. idem alio proelio aquiliferum in fugam versum faucibus comprehensum in contrariam partem detraxit dextramque ad hostes tendens ' quorsum tu ', inquit, ' abis? illic sunt cum quibus dimicamus.'

III. 2. 23 Pugnante quondam Iulio Caesare contra Brittones quidam miles tragula femur traiectus, saxo ore contusus, galea ictibus discussa duabus loricis onustus fluvio se dedit et natatu ad imperatorem veniens eo visu, cum laudem mereretur, veniam petivit. sic centurionatu donatus est.

expunct. r || 174 zenocrati *r* sua *iterum scr., linea induct. n* || 175 ad aram coactus *l* omnia---retulisse *om. r* retulisse *om. n* || 177 *tit. om. a* DE FORTITUDINE ET DE INDOLE LIBRO III *r* || 178 oratio *m* coclite *corr. e* cloclite, l *prior. expunct. m* aetruscis *pmn* inpetum *m* || 179 post tergum *corr. e* postergum, t *suprascr. p* postergum *lma* arrumperetur, b *suprascr. r* sustinuit *corr. e* sostinuit, u *suprascr. m* || 180 proiciens cum armis *m* || 183 cervicem *r* aures *corr. ex* auros, e *suprascr. m* conrosit *r* exspiravit *lr* || 184 crassus, p *om. m* c. crassus *a* exceptus ab hostibus *n* qua *corr. e* quam *l* equm *l* aequum *a* || 185 occulum *n* direxit] *add.* caeli gaudium praenimium fulgae de lumine, *sed linea induct. n* vi *om. m* || 186 grassi *a* sica] i. gladio *suprascr. l* grassi sica *in mrg. man. recent. scr. a* || 187 que *p* viri *suprascr. n* || 188 resecandas *r* velud *ln* elapsu *a* || 189 se *suprascr. l* se *om. a* egi: *post* i *litt. eras. p* || 190 volui *corr. e* voluit, t *eras. l* voluit *m* propositum: *litt.* si *vix legi possunt a* sententiam *m* equo *r* || 191 ferre *r* ferro *corr. e* ferre *n* non timerem *r* || 192 cesar *lmnar* || 193 timidus *m* pugnans: s *suprascr. r* tectus] tractus *a* tectu *r* || 194 praelio *na* conprehensum *p* || 196 illi *l* || 197 quondam *om. l* quidem *a* cesare *lmar* *om. n* brittones: r *suprascr. m* britones *lna* || 198 hictibus *n* discussa *om. n* || 199 onustus *corr. ex* onustis, u *suprascr. m* cum eo visu *l* viso *r* || 200 petivit: e *suprascr. r* centurio natatu *r* ||

III. 2. 24 Siccus Dentatus centies vicies in aciem descendit, XLV vulnera pectore excepit, tergo cicatricibus vacuo.

III. 2. ext. 5 Epaminondas, summa felicitas Thebarum, pugnans contra Lacedemonas hasta traiectus, sanguine et spiritu deficiens, recreare se conans primum an clipeus suus salvus esset, deinde an penitus fusi hostes forent interrogavit, dicens se non mori sed nasci, quod sua morte Thebis caput Graeciae fieret.

DE PATIENTIA

III. 3. 2 Pompeius legatione functus ab hoste captus, cum senatus consilia prodere iuberetur, ardenti lucernae admovit digitum cremandum: ea patientia magnum ardorem hosti iniecit de amicitia populi Romani.

III. 3. ext. 1 Puer nobilis Alexandro sacrificanti assistens arrepto turibulo in brachium eius carbo ardens delapsus est et licet ita ureretur, ut odor ad circumstantes veniret, brachium tamen immobile tenuit, ne sacrificium impediret. Alexander diutius eum cremari permisit volens experiri perseverantiam pueri.

III. 3. ext. 3 Zenon philosophus, cum a quodam tyranno de cuius nece tractaverat torqueretur, dixit se secrete velle loqui cum eo. laxatus eculeo aurem eius morsu corripuit nec ante dimisit quam et ipse vita et ille parte corporis privaretur.

III. 3. ext. 4 Anaxarchus, cum a tyranno torqueretur et eum ipse amarissimis verbis lacesseret, ad ultimum incisionem linguae minitanti dentibus abscisam in faciem eius expuit.

DE HUMILI LOCO NATIS QUI CLARI EVASERINT

III. 4. 1 Tullii Servilii adolescentia in pecore pascendo fuit occupata: validior aetas Romanum imperium rexit.

201 iccus (s *om.*) *r* cencies *m* vities *ln* vigies *ar* atiem *l* vulnera] *add.* in *m* || 202 circatricibus *m* || 203 epaninondas *l* epaminundas *n* || 204 et *suprascr. l* deficiens et spiritu *m* || 205 clypeus *pn* fusi *om. m* forent] fuissent *m* || 206 capud *l* caput *corr. e* capud, t *suprascr. n* || 207 greciae *pmn* graeciae] vel a *suprascr. l* fieret] vel ent *suprascr. l* || 208 PACIENTIA *mn* PATIENCIA *r* || 209 pompeii *l* pompei *n* || 211 pacientia *mnar* iniecit hosti *l* amicicia *nr* p. r. *pmna* p. (o *suprascr.*) r. (o *suprascr.*) *r* r. p. *l* || 212 thuribulo *a* || 213 elapsus *l* ureretur: tur *suprascr. r* || 214 inmobile *m* sacrifitium *n* inpediret *p* || 215 perserverantiam *m* perseveratiam *corr. e* perseverantium *n* || 217 xenon *a* enon (z *om.*) *r* phylosophus *pn* tiranno *lmar* nece *corr. e* nete, t *expunct. et* c *suprascr. n* || 218 laxatus] levatus *r* aeculeo *p* aequuleo *n* equuleo *a* eius *om. m* || 220 privaretur *corr. e* privateretur, te *expunct. m* || 221 tyrano *l* tiranno *a* cum a tyrano *in ras. l* ipse *om. mr* || 222 lacesseret *corr. e* lacesceret, s *suprascr. m* incisionem *suprascr. n* incioionem *m* lingue *l* minanti *m* minutatum, *corr. e* minitantim *r* || 223 expulit *m* || 224 HUMILI: M *vix legi potest, alt.* M *suprascr. a* EVASERUNT *ma* || 225 tulli *l* nullii *a* Adhuc ex Valerio Maximo *in mrg man. recent. scr. g* adulescentia *p* peccore *n* || 226 rexit imperium *ar* ||

III. 4. 2 Tarquinius patre Corinthio mercatore exule natus post imperator enituit.

III. 4. ext. 1 Socrates Phanarete matre obstetrice et Sophonisco patre marmorario genitus ad clarissimum gloriae lumen excessit.

III. 4. ext. 2 Quam matrem Euripides aut quem patrem Demostenes habuerit ignotum fuit. alterius autem matrem cultellos venditasse dicunt.

QUI A PARENTIBUS CLARIS DEGENERAVERUNT

III. 5. 1 Loquens de Scipione Africani Scipionis filio quod et virtute et moribus a patre degeneraverit, adeo ut praeturam ab eo tollerent et insuper eius anulum, in quo caput Africani sculptum erat, detraherent. ait ' dii boni, quas tenebras e quo fulmine nasci passi estis.'

III. 5. 2 De Q. Fabii etiam filio quod perditam vitam luxuria egerit dicens.

III. 5. 3 ' Avide ', inquit, abdomine devorato foedae ac sordidae intemperantiae spiritum reddidit.

QUI EX ILLUSTRIBUS VIRIS IN VESTE AUT CETERO CULTU LICENTIUS SIBI QUAM MOS PATRIUS PERMITTEBAT INDULSERUNT

III. 7. 1c Scipio speculatores Hannibalis in castris deprehensos nec supplicio affecit nec de consiliis Poenorum perscrutatus est, verum interrogatos an satis ea considerassent quae speculari iussi erant, prandio dato incolumes dimisit.

III. 7. 11 Actius poeta Iulio Caesari in collegium poetarum venienti numquam assurgebat, non maiestatis eius immemor, sed quod in comparatione sapientiae se superiorem esse confideret.

III. 7. ext. 1 Cum quidam apud Alcestidem tragicum quereretur quod eo triduo

227 parte *l* chorinthio *ln* chorintio *a* mercatore *corr. in* mercatori, i *suprascr. m* inperator *m* || 229 matrem *r* obstetrice: te *suprascr. p* obstetrice *corr. ex* obstretice *r* sonophonisco *pr* sophronisco *g* patre] matre *m* marmorario: r *prima suprascr. p*, ra *suprascr. n* marmorio *r* || 230 gloriae clarissimum *ar* || 231 uam (q *om.*) *r* eurripides *a* euripedes *g* || 232 ignotum] incertum *m* fuit] *add.* et, *sed expunct. n* cutellos *m* dicunt] credunt *m* || 233 QUI A---403 CUPIDITATE VITAE *om., sed* 365 masinissa numidiae---370 meam accusem *et* 381 xerxes eo---382 genus invenisset *suppl. infra g* || 234 oquens (l *om.*) *r* affricani *lmar* scipionis: ionis *suprascr. p* || 235 degeneravit *l* degeneraverit *corr. e* degeneraveverit, ve *secund. expunct. n* || 236 capud *l* affricani *lar* scultum *pmr* ait *suprascr. r* di *plm* oii *a* || 237 e quo] aequo *n* e] de *l* flumine *p* nasci *om. m* || 238 *litt. maiusc. scr. r* Q] et *m* QUINTI *r* etiam *om. m* aetiam *n* perortam *r* || 239 vide (a *om.*) *r* devorato *corr. e* decorato, v *suprascr. m* foede *pn* fede *lmr* fedae *a* sordide *plmnr* || 241 CAETERO *na* || 242 LICENT AUSI SIBI *r* MOS *corr. e* MOX, X *expunct. et* S *suprascr. n* PERMITTERET *mar* || 244 depraehensos *n* ne *a* || 245 adfecit *pn* adfaecit *l* penorum *lr* || 246 quam *a* speculatori *a* speculari *corr. e* speculatori, or *expunct. r* incolumes *corr. ex* incolomes *r* || 248 accius *a* ctius (a *om.*) *r* cesari *lmn* collegio *m* conventu *ar* nunquam *a* non *m* || 249 maiestatis: ti *suprascr. n* inmemor *pmnr* sapientiae *om. m* || 250 consideravit *r* || 251 um (c *om.*) *r* alcistidem *m*

non ultra tres versus maximo labore impenso facere potuisset, atque is se centum perfacile scripsisse gloriaretur, ' sed hoc ', inquit, ' interest, quod tui in triduum tantum modo, mei vero in omne tempus sufficient.'

III. 7. ext. 2 Antigenes discipulo suo legenti sed minus intente a populo audito, ' michi ', inquit, ' cane et musis.'

DE FIDUCIA SUI

III. 7. ext. 8 Quidam Spartanus, increpitus a quodam, quod in aciem claudus descenderet, pugnare, non fugere propositum sibi esse respondit.

Eiusdem urbis vir hospiti suo patriae muros excelsos latosque ostendenti dixit ' si mulieribus istos comparasti, recte, si viris, turpiter.'

III. 8. ext. 6 Alexandro subito corporis rigore correpto, cum omnes medici ad unam potionem sententiam direxissent atque Philippus medicus amicissimus illi suis manibus temperatam Alexandro porrexisset, supervenerunt litterae missae a Parmenione ammonentes ut rex insidias Philippi caveret a Dario pecunia corrupti. lectis illis medicamentum incunctanter hausit ac tum legendas Philippo tradidit.

DE MODERATIONE

IV. 1. 10 Africanus cum triumphum ageret et scriba ex publicis sollempne ei carmen imprecaretur, quo dii immortales sinerent ut populi Romani res ampliores faceret, ' satis ', inquit, ' bonae et magnae sunt: itaque precor ut eas perpetuo incolumes servent.'

IV. 1. 12 Metellus Macedonicus aemulus Scipionis, cum eum interemptum conclamari audisset, in lacrimas prorumpens, ' concurrite ', inquit, ' cives! moenia nostrae urbis eversa sunt.'

IV. 1. ext. 2 Plato Xenocratem discipulum suum audierat multa impia de se fuisse locutum, respuit criminationem. instabat criminator quaerens, cur

quaerereretur *a* || 252 inpenso *pmn* Nota de versibus *in mrg. man. recent. scr. a* atque is se *om. m* || 253 glorietur *a* || 254 tui] *add.* versus *r* || 255 ntigenes (a *om.*) *r* suo *om. m* || 256 mihi *p* || 257 FIDUTIA *l* || 258 uidam (q *om.*) *r* increpitus: vel a *suprascr. r* increpatus *mn* atiem *l* acie *m* || 259 decenderet *m* respondit] dixit *m* || 260 iusdem (e *om.*) *r* patrie *r* excelsosque *r* ostendenti *corr. ex* ostendens *l* ostendens *a* ostendit *r* || 261 dixit] *add.* que ille *r* comparastis *ln* si] sed *l* || 263 pocionem *m* phylippus *pmn* || 264 illius *m* temperatam] *add.* ab *m* porraexisset *r* supervenere *ar* || 265 littere *n* misse *pl* phylippi *pmn* caveret quem darius peccunia corrumpit *r* || 266 peccunia *n* || 267 at *m* tum] tamen *r* *ante* legendas 5 *litt. eras. l* phylippo *pn* || 269 affricanus *la* fricanus (a *om.*) *r* triunphum *m* sciba *m* puplicis *corr. e* pullicis *l* sollempne: l *secunda et* p *suprascr. p* solemne *n* solenne *a* || 270 camen *m* inprecaretur *m* inpraecaretur *a* inmortales *pmnr* p. r̄. *par* pr. i. *ln* prī *m* || 271 bone *r* praecor *a* || 273 ecelius (m *om.*) *r* machedonicus *m* emulus *lar* intereptum *lm* || 274 inclamari *l* cumclamari *ma* lacrimis *l* inquit] *add.* o *l* cyves *n* || 275 menia *r* urbis nostrae *r* nostre *n* eversa: er *suprascr. p* || 276 xenocraten *a* zenocratem *r* inpia *m* de] ad *r* se *suprascr. l* || 277 fuisse *om. ar* crimina-

sibi non crederetur: adiecit non esse credibile ut, quem tantopere amaret, ab eo invicem non diligeretur. volente criminatore ad ius iurandum prodire, affirmavit numquam ea Xenocratem dicturum fuisse, nisi expedire sibi ea dici iudicasset.

IV. 1. ext. 3 Syracusanus quidam patria pulsus Megaram venit, ubi cum Theodorum principem civitatis domi convenire vellet nec admitteretur, ait comiti suo patienter hoc ferendum esse: 'forsitan enim et nos, cum in gradu nostrae dignitatis essemus, aliquid tale fecimus.'

IV. 1. ext. 7 Unus ex septem sapientibus a piscatoribus verriculi iactum emit. extracta mensa aurea consultus Apollo respondit illi esse dandam, qui sapientia ceteros praestaret. tum illi Sodeo mensam dederunt. ille cessit eam alii, is alii, et deinceps per ordinem. postremo ad Solonem pervenit, qui et titulum amplissimae sapientiae et praemium Apollini transtulit.

IV. 1. ext. 9 Antiochus a Scipione ultra Taurum montem finibus regni pulsus gratias agere se dixit populo Romano, quod magna procuratione liberatus modicis regni terminis uteretur.

DE ABSTINENTIA ET CONTINENTIA

IV. 3. 3 Antonia post excessum mariti forma et aetate florens cubitum socrus pro coniugio habuit.

IV. 3. 5 Marcus Curius Samnitum legatis se spectandum praebuit agresti scamno assidentem foco et in catino ligneo cenantem: ille Samnitum divitias, quas ei afferebant, contempsit, illi paupertatem eius mirati sunt: magno namque pondere auri ab eis sibi oblato et vultum risu solvit et ait 'narrate', inquit, 'Samnitibus M. Curium malle locupletibus imperare quam ipsum fieri locupletem, atque istud ut preciosum, ita malo hominum excogitatum munus referte et mementote me nec acie vinci nec pecunia corrumpi posse.'

IV. 3. 11 Cato censorius pellibus hedinis pro stragulis utebatur, tribus servis comitatus Hispaniam regebat.

cionem *m* istabat *m* querens *pm* || 278 sibi non] *add.* loque *sed expunct. m* || 280 adfirmavit *m* nunquam *a* zenocratem *mr* expedite *r* || 281 dici *suprascr. l* || 282 siracusanus *mna* cyracusanus *r* in egaram *r* teodorum *l* || 284 comiti *suprascr. l* pacienter *mn* enim *om. m* || 285 nostre *r* || 288 caeteros *pna* prestaret *n* soadeo *ln* solideo *r* || 289 eam *suprascr. l* is] ille *l* || 290 et *om. l* amplissime *n* premium *n* apolloni *n* || 291 antiocus *m* regni finibus *m* || 292 procuracione *m* || 293 terminis] finibus *m* || 294 ASTINENTIA *m* || 295 mariti *suprascr. l* etate *mr* concubitum, con *suprascr. n* || 297 samnitis *m* scamno: *s in mrg. scr. et ante* n l *litt. eras. n* scanno *r* || 298 lingneo *n* caenantem *pna* divicias *m* || 299 afferebant: n *suprascr. p* offerebant *m* contepsit *l* paupertatem: ta *suprascr. l* nanque *a* || 300 ablato *r* et *om. m* inquit *om. l* || 301 locupletibus *corr. e* lucupletibus, u *prima expunct. et* o *suprascr. l* amator paupertatis *in mrg. man. recent. scr. a* || 302 istud *om. m* praetiosum *a* hominem *a* || 303 mementote: te *suprascr. pn* memento *m* me nec] nec *om. r* peccunia *nr* || 304 cens̄ *pm* cēs *l* censor̄ *n* censorinis *r* pellibus] *add.* et *r* haedinis *p* utebatur *corr. e* utebantur, n *expunct. m* servis] viris *m* || 305 comittatus *m* tribus

IV. 4. 14 Pyrrus rex Epirotarum amicitiam populi Romani expetens magna et diversa munera utrique sexui congrua circa domos ferri per urbem praecepit, qui nec ianuas donis aperire dignati sunt.

IV. 3. ext. 2 Sophocles aetate seniore, cum ab eo quidam perquireret an etiam tunc rebus veneriis uteretur, ' dii meliora! ' inquit, ' libenter enim istinc tamquam ex aliqua furiosa profugi dominatione.'

IV. 3. ext. 3 Alexander rex ad Xenocratem legatos cum aliquot talentis misit, quos ille, ut erat solitus, modico apparatu excepit. postera die interrogantibus cuinam adnumerari pecuniam vellet, ' non intellexistis ', inquit, ' hesterna cena ea me non indigere? ' ita rex philosophi amicitiam emere voluit, philosophus regi suam vendere noluit.

IV. 3. ext. 4 Idem Alexander cum ad Diogenem cynicum in sole sedentem accessisset hortareturque ut si qua sibi praestari vellet, indicaret, ' mox ', inquit, ' de ceteris, interim velim a sole mihi non obstes. ' idem Syracusis, cum olera ei lavanti Aristippus dixisset, ' si Dyonisium adulare velles, ista non esses ', ' immo ', inquit, ' si tu ista esse velles, Dyonisium non adulares.'

DE PAUPERTATE

IV. 4. inc. Cornelia matrona, cum Campania matrona apud illam hospita ornamenta pulcherrima illius saeculi ostenderet, traxit eam sermone, quousque e scola redirent liberi, et ' haec ', inquit, ' ornamenta sunt mea.'

IV. 4. 3. In Gai Fabricii et Quinti Emilii domibus minimum fuisse argentum: uterque enim patellam deorum et salinum habuit.

DE VERECUNDIA

IV. 5. 5 Pompeius a Caesare victus, cum postera die Larissam intraret, uni-

servis comitatus hispaniam *in mrg. man. recent. iterum scr. a* hispaniam *corr. ex* hispeniam *n* || 306 pirrus *lma* amiciciam *m* amiticiam *n* p. r. *in ras. p* p. r. *a* romani p. *mn* r. p. *r* *post* p. r. *4-5 litt. eras. p* experens *a* || 308 precepit *p* aperiri *m* dignati sunt] voluerunt *m* *Nota in mrg. man. recent. scr. a* || 309 sophodes *n* etate *m* seniori *r* senior *m* || 310 tunc] tum *l* veneriis: is *suprascr. p*, i *prior. suprascr. a* || 311 tanquam *na* dominacione *m* || 312 xenocraten *a* zenocratem *r* aliquot *corr. ex* aliquod, t *suprascr. n* misit *suprascr. n* || 313 solitus] *add. iterum* erat *m* || 314 pecuniam adnumerari *l* annumerari peccuniam, an *suprascr. r* pecuniam *om. m* annumerari *a* intellectis, xi *suprascr. n* intellixistis *r* || 315 haesterna *p et* (h *in mrg. scr.*) *a* externa *l* caena *plnar* me ea *m* phylosophi *p* amiciciam *nr* || 316 phylosophus *p* philosophus] *add.* autem *r* suam vendere regi *ar* noluit *corr. e* voluit *p* || 317 cinicum *lmn* || 318 hortareturque: tur *suprascr. a* prestari *pn* velle *a* || 319 caeteris *lnar* sole] se *m* michi *n* mihi a sole *a* michi a sole *r* obstes *corr. ex* obstet, t *expunct. et* s *suprascr. m* siracusis *mnar* diogenes *in mrg. man. recent. scr. a* || 320 holera *ar* levanti, vel a *suprascr. r* dixisset aristippus *n* dionisium *lna* diosinium *m* adulari *ar* ita *mr et corr. ex* ista *n* || 321 non esses] i. non comederes *suprascr. l* eses *n* inmo *n* ita *mr et corr. ex* ista *n* esse *suprascr. l* dionisium *mna* || 323 canpania *m* compania *n* campaniae matronae *r* illa *l* hospitatae *r* || 324 pulcherrima *om. m* seculi *pnr* || 326 in] an *a* gaii *lr* fabritii *l* bricii *m* || 327 sallinum *r* || 328 VERECUNDIA *corr. e* VERECONDIA, U *suprascr. m* || 329 cesare *lmar*

versusque populus ei obviam exisset, ' ite ', inquit, ' et istud officium praestate victori.'

IV. 5. ext. 1 Spurinna adolescens, cum mira specie complurium feminarum sollicitaret oculos ideoque viris ac parentibus earum se sentiret esse suspectum, oris decorem vulneribus confudit.

IV. 5. ext. 2 Quidam vehementissimae senectutis, Athenis cum in theatrum intrasset et a nemine in consessum reciperetur, ad Lacedemoniorum legatos forte pervenit. qui hominem venerati inter se eum sedere cum honore fecerunt. fertur unus Lacedemonum dixisse ' ergo Athenienses quid sit rectum sciunt, sed id facere negligunt.'

DE AMORE CONIUGALI

IV. 6. 1 Titus Graccus a serpente se pro uxore necari permisit.

IV. 6. 2 Graccus morte uxoris audita doloris impatiens pectus suum gladio percussit.

IV. 6. 5 Portia uxor Bruti cognita morte viri, qui erat a Caesare extinctus Philippis, quia ferrum non dabatur, ardentes ore carbones haurire non dubitavit.

IV. 6. ext. 1 Reginam Artemisiam Mausoli mariti extincti ossa potione aspersa imbibisse tradunt.

IV. 6. ext. 3 Mulieres illustris sanguinis velatis virorum capitibus eos de carcere egredi fecerunt, ipsae clausae remanentes.

IV. 7. ext. 2 Darii castris potitus Alexander cum Ephestione sibi gratissimo lateris sui custode venit ad castra. quo ingresso mater Darii caput erexit et Ephestionem, quia ei et statura et forma praestabat, tanquam Alexandrum salutavit. deinde ammonita sui erroris excusationem quaerebat, cui Alexander ' nichil est ', inquit, ' quod confundaris: nam et hic Alexander est.'

DE HUMANITATE AUT CLEMENTIA

V. 1. ext. 3 Pyrrus rex quosdam Tarentinos in convivio audivit male de se locutos: accersiti et interrogati utrum sic locuti essent. tum unus ex his ' nisi ',

postera *corr. e* posteram, m *expunct. r* || 330 offitium *p* prestate *n* praestare *r* || 332 spurina *r* adulescens *p* specie] facie *m* speciae *r* plurimum *m* || 333 occulos *n* eorum *r* || 335 vehementissime *lna* senectutis *corr. e* senetuctis *r* teatrum *p* intrasset: s *prior. suprascr. p* introisset *r* || 337 consedere eum honore *r* cum honore sedere *m* cum honore *om. n* || 338 lacedemoniorum *mr* || 339 neglegunt *pm* || 340 MORE *m* AMORE CONIUGALI *om. r* CONIUGATI, LI *man. recent. suprascr. n* || 341 graccus] gaius *r* necare *m* || 342 gracchus *n* *ante* morte *6 litt. eras. p* inpatiens *p* inpaciens *mn* || 344 bruti *corr. e* brati, u *suprascr. r* cesare *lmnar* extinctus] victus *r* || 345 ore *om. m* prunas haurire non dubitavit *in mrg. man. recent. add. a* || 346 artemesiam *lm* mausolei *a* masolei *r* ossa: s *prior. suprascr. a* pocione *m* || 347 inbisse *a* || 348 illustres sanguine *r* || 349 ipse *nar* clause *a* || 350 claustris *r* aephestione *ln* lateri *p* || 351 aefestionem *p* aephestionem *ln* || 352 ei *suprascr. l* ei statura *r* prestabat *n* tamquam *mr* || 353 querebat *plmr* || 354 nihil *p* inquit *om. m* || 355 HUMILITATE *a* AUT CLEMENTIA *om. r* || 356 pirrus *ma* de se locutos] decutos *m* || 357 accersiti *corr. ex* accerciti *n* sic] si *r* tunc *r* ||

inquit, ' vinum nobis defecisset, ista, quae tibi relata sunt, in comparationem eorum, quae locuturi essemus, iocus ac ludus essent.'

V. 10. ext. 2 Xenophon cum sacrificaret e duobus filiis maiorem proelio perisse cognovit: nec ideo cultum deorum omittendum putavit, sed tantum modo coronam deponere contentus fuit. quam ipsam percontatus quonam modo occidisset, ut audivit fortissime pugnantem interisse, capiti reposuit.

DE SENECTUTE

VIII. 13. ext. 1 Masinissa Numidiae rex ante omnes homines robore senectae ammirabilis nullo unquam imbri, nullo frigore caput contexit. idem aliquot horis in eodem vestigio perstare solitus, donec iuvenes simili labore fatigaret.

VIII. 13. ext. 2 Gorgias interrogatus, cum centesimum et septimum ageret annum, cur tam diu vivere vellet ' quia nichil, ' inquit, ' habeo quod senectutem meam accusem.'

DE CUPIDITATE GLORIAE

VIII. 14. 5 Nulla est tanta humilitas quae dulcedine gloriae non tangatur.

VIII. 14. ext. 2 Alexander Anaxachro comiti suo ex auctoritate Democriti innumerabiles mundos asserenti, ' heu me ', inquit, ' miserum, quod ne uno quidem adhuc sum potitus! '

QUAECUIQUE MAGNIFICA CONTIGERUNT

VIII. 15. ext. 1 Pitagorae tanta veneratio ab auditoribus tributa est, ut quae ab eo acceperant in disputatione deducere nefas existimarent. quin etiam interpellati ad reddendam causam hoc solum respondebant, ipsum dixisse.

DE LUXURIA

IX. 1. ext. 3 Xerxes eo usque luxuria gaudebat, ut edicto praemium ei proponeret, qui novum voluptatis genus invenisset.

358 nobis defecisset vinum *m* vinum] unum *r* relata *corr. e* revelata, ve *expunct. n* comparatione *ar* || 359 essent *om. a* || 360 zenephon *r* zenophon *m* sacrificaret] *add.* et *r* e] ex *l* maiorem] *add.* in *ar* proelio *om. m* || 362 contemptus *a* ipsum, a *man. recent. suprascr. n* percunctatus *ma* percontactus *r* percontatus *corr. e* percontentatus, ten *expunct. n* || 363 ut] tum *m* *add.* aut, *sed expunct. r* audiit *pln* || 364 *tit. om. ar* || 365 massinissa *n* numidie *r* senectute *p* senectutis *ar* senecte *ng* robore senectutis admirabilis *in mrg. man. recent. iterum scr. a* admirabilis *a* || 366 umquam *pmn* inbri *m* ymbri *n* capud *g* || 368 interrogatus *corr. ex* interrogatas, a *expunct. et* u *suprascr. g* || 369 nihil *p* habeo] *add.* propter *l* || 370 meam *om. g* accusem] *sequuntur iterum* 12 camillus cum---19 suo comprobavit *g* || 371 GLORIE *mn* || 372 que *l* glorie *r* || 373 alexander] *add.* cum *r* anazacro *l* anazacheo *m* || 374 uno] *add.* inquit *r* || 376 QUECUIQUE *mr* QUAECUMQUE *a* MAGNIFICATA CONTIGERINT *r* CONTIGERUNT *corr. e* CONTICERUNT, C *expunct. et* G *suprascr. n* || 377 pytagore *l* pytagorae *m* pitagorae (*ante* t *2 litt. eras.*) *n* phitagorae *a* phytagorae *r* veneratio] *add.* fuit *ar* tributa est] attributa *ar* || 378 acceperant ab eo *m* dedicere *pln* didicere *a* dicere *mr* extimarent *l* quim *m* || 381 xerxes: *post* r 1 *litt.*

DE ODIO

IX. 3. ext. 3 Hannibal adhuc novem annorum puer significare volens, quanto inter se odio Roma et Carthago dissiderent, inflicto in terram pede susci- 385
tatoque pulvere tunc inter eas finem belli fore dixit, cum alterutra pars in habitum pulveris esset redacta.

IX. 3. ext. 4 Semiramis Assyriorum regina, cum ei circa cultum capitis sui occupatae nuntiatum esset Babyloniam defecisse, altera parte crinium adhuc soluta ad eam expugnandam cucurrit nec prius decorem capillorum in 390
ordinem quam tantam urbem in potestatem redegit. statua eius ibi posita est ipso habitu.

DE MORTIBUS NON VULGARIBUS

IX. 12. ext. 2 Aeschilus poeta in Sicilia moenibus urbis, in qua morabatur, egressus aprico in loco resedit. super quem aquila testudinem ferens elusa splendore 395
capitis — erat enim capillis vacuum — perinde atque lapidi eam illisit, ut fractae carne vesceretur.

IX. 12. ext. 6 Philemon paratas ei ficus atque in conspectu positas asello consumente puerum ut illum abigeret inclamavit. qui cum iam comestis omnibus supervenisset 'quoniam', inquit, 'tam tardus fuisti, da nunc merum 400
asello.' ac protinus urbanitatem dicti crebro cachinnorum anhelitu prosecutus, senile guttur salebris spiritus dampnavit.

DE CUPIDITATE VITAE

IX. 13. 2 Carbo iussu Pompeii ad supplicium ductus petit a militibus ut sibi alvum levare liceret prius quam expiraret, eoque moram traxit, donec 405
caput eius in ipso loco abscideretur.

DE SUSPECTIS DOMESTICIS

IX. 13. ext. 4 Dyonisius Syracusanus tonsorum metu tondere filias suas docuit.

eras. p xerses *lmg* serxes *r* eo *om. a* usque *corr. ex* ausque, a *expunct. r* ei praemium *m* premium *n* opponeret *ar* || 384 annibal *a* adhunc *m* significare] *add.* puer, *sed linea induct. n* || 385 cartago *par* kartago *lm* || 387 habitum *corr. ex* habitatum, ta *expunct. r* || 388 samyramis *p* samiramis *m* assiriorum *pmar* ei *om. m* occupate *ln* || 389 nunciatum *lm* babiloniam *lma* || 391 totam *m* potestate *m* || 393 MORTALIBUS *r* || 394 heschilus *a* aesulus *r* siciliam *n* menibus *mr* || 395 testitudinem *a* || 396 vacuum: *ante* c l *litt. eras. a* eam lapidi *m* || 397 fracta *mr* fracte *n* carne: n *suprascr. n* || 398 positis *m* || 399 cum *om. m* || 401 anhelitu cachinnorum *l* cahinnorum hanelitum *m* anelitu *a* || 402 salubris *mr* damnavit *m* || 403 CUPITATAE *n* VITE *l* VITAE *om. m* || 404 pompei *pmng* supplitium *n* petiit *gr* *sqq. Notae in mrg. scr. r* sibi] *add.* in *r* || 405 alveum lavare *ar* liceret levare *l* purgare lavare *m* exspiraret *lr* eousque *m* eo *g* || 406 capud *lg* eius in ipso loco *om. g* abscisum est *g* || 407 SUSCEPTIS *m* DE SUSPECTIS---*fin. om. g* || 408 dionisius *mna* siracusanus *pmnar* metu]

quibus adultis ferrum non audens committere instituit ut candentium glandium et nucum putaminibus barbam sibi et capillum adurerent.

DE SIMILITUDINE FORMAE

IX. 14. ext. 3 Quodam proconsule dicente cuidam Siciliensi mirari se quapropter sui tam similis esset, cum pater suus in eam provinciam numquam accessisset, 'at meus', inquit, 'Romam accessit:' sic eum in matris suspicionem vertendo elusit.

DE INGRATIS

V. 3. 2b Africanum superiorem, qui rem publicam bellis Punicis debilitatam reparavit, ingratus senatus cuiusdam ignobilis paludis exulem accolam fecit. quam acerbitatem non tacitus ad inferos tulit, sepulchro suo inscribendo 'ingrata patria, nec ossa quidem mea habes.'

V. 3. 4 Marcus Cicero G. Pompilium causa dubia fluctuantem salvum domi reddidit. hic postea nec verbo laesus ultro Antonium rogavit ut ad illum proscriptum iugulandum mitteretur, quo impetrato Caietam cucurrit ac patris caput Romanae eloquentiae et dextram amputavit et pro opimis spoliis in urbem reversus est. non extat alius Cicero qui talem Ciceronis casum digne deplorare possit.

DE PIETATE ERGA PARENTES

V. 4. 7 Nobilem mulierem dampnatam praetor in carcerem tradidit necandam. qui aditum filiae diligenter excussae, ne quid cibi ferret, concessit, estimans inedia consumi. transeuntibus plurimis diebus advertit filiam exerto ubere matri praebere lactis alimoniam.

LIBRO VI DE PUDICITIA

VI. 1. 2 Verginius, cum quidam tribunus filiae eius virginis stuprum expeteret, ille puellam deductam in foro occidit, ne contaminaretur.

more *r* suas] *add.* praecepit *m* || 409 audens: u *suprascr. l* comittere *n* instituit *om. m* cadentium *r* || 410 glamdium *m* nuchum *l* unicum *m* || 411 FORME *lr* || 412 quapropter: r *prior. suprascr. m* || 413 sui] sibi *r* similis *corr. e* similes, i *suprascr. n* nunquam *a* numquam in eam provintiam *m* provintiam *p* || 414 suspitionem *plnr* || 416 INGRATIS: R *suprascr. n* || 417 affricanum *r* r. (ē *suprascr.*) p. (ā *suprascr.*) *p* r. p. *lmnr* debilitatem *n* || 418 ingratum *corr. ex* ingratus, s *expunct. et lineola super* u *scr. r* paludis *om. a* || 419 faecit *l* sepulcro *l* || 420 ne *lmn* mea quidem *lr* habeas *r* || 421 marcus: m *suprascr. a* popilium *pm* || 422 nec *om. m* lesus *mar* || 423 miteretur *r* inperato *m* inpetrato *a* cetam *r* cucurit *p* || 424 dextram: r *suprascr. n* mors ciceronis *in mrg. man. recent. scr. a* || 425 in *om. m* obstat *a* ciceronis *corr.*, ci *suprascr. r* || 426 digne *om. m* dignae *p* || 427 PARENTES] SAPIENTES *m* || 428 damnatam *ma* pretor *mn* cacerem *m* traddidit *n* || 429 filie *r* excusse *r* quid] quit *m* qui *a* tibi *lm* sibi *r* cibi *corr. e* tibi, t *expunct. et* c *suprascr. n* || 430 aestimans *p* existimans *n* inaedia *pmn* filium *r* || 431 prebere *n* praebere matri *ar* matri lactis: *litt.* tri l *vix legi possunt a* || 432 LIBER *n* PUDICICIA *n* DE PUDICICIA LIBRO VI *ma* DE PUDICITIA LIBRO VI *r* || 433 virginius *a* verginii *r* || 434 puelam *m* ||

LIBERE DICTA AUT FACTA

VI. 2. ext. 2 Quaedam ultimae senectutis femina omnibus orantibus interitum Dyonisii Syracusani tyranni sola cotidie matutino tempore deos ut incolumis ac sibi superstes esset orabat. admiratus ille causam interrogavit. at illa 'puella', inquit 'cum essem et gravem tyrannum haberem, carere eo cupiebam. successit peior. et illo cum carere cuperem, tertium te importuniorem coepimus habere rectorem. timens igitur deteriorem tibi succedere, caput meum pro tua salute devoveo.'

VI. 2. ext. 3 Quidam Cyreneus Lisimacho regi, cum eum cruci iussisset affigi, 'terribilis' ait 'haec sit purpuratis tuis, mea quidem nichil interest humi an sublime putrescam.'

DE SEVERITATE

VI. 3. 1a Manlius, unde ipse Gallos depulerat, inde ipse praecipitatus est, dicente sibi senatu 'Manlius eras mihi, cum praecipites agebas Senonas: postquam imitari coepisti, unus factus es ex Senonibus.'

GRAVITER DICTA AUT FACTA

VI. 4. 2 Scipio, cum in senatu contenderetur de duobus principibus quis in Hispaniam mitteretur, ait 'neutrum', inquit, 'mihi mitti placet, quia alter nichil habet, alteri nichil est satis', aeque improbans inopiam et avaritiam.

VI. 3. 9 Metellus uxorem, quod vinum bibisset, fuste percussam interemit.

VI. 4. 3 Pompilius a senatu missus ad Antiochum, ut a Ptholomeo desisteret, isque cum ei dexteram amico vultu protendisset, noluit illi suam porrigere, sed tabulas senatus consultum continentes tradidit, quas ut legit Antiochus, dixit se cum amicis locuturum. indignatus Pompilius, quod aliquam moram interposuisset, virga quam tenebat solum denotavit et 'prius', inquit, 'quam hoc circulo excedas da responsum, quod senatui referam.' continuo rex affirmavit se a Ptholomeo cessaturum.

435 LIBERE: RE *suprascr. p* || 436 quedam *l* || 437 dionisii *lmna* siracusani *pmnar* tiranni *lmnar* || 438 superstes *corr. e* superstites, ti *expunct. r* ammiratus *r* ille] ipse *r* || 439 tirannum *mar* || 440 tercium *lmar* || 441 inportuniorem *pmnr* habere rectorem cepimus *m* cepimus *r* || 442 succedere: c *prior. suprascr. l* capud *l* || 443 cireneus *ma* lisimachro *n* lisymachum regem *r* affligi *r* || 444 terribiliter *a* haec sit] haesit *p* hesit *ar* nihil *p* interest] est *m* || 445 sullimae *a* || 447 precipitatus *n* || 448 michi *n* precipites *n* || 449 cepisti *r* factus es unus *r* || 450 AUT] VEL *a* DICTA AUT] DICTANT *c* || 451 conderetur *n* principibus *suprascr. p* princibus *m* || 452 hispania *m* hyspaniam *c* inquit *om. m* michi *nr* || 453 nihil.... nihil *p* eque *l* aequae *na* equae *r* et que *c* inprobans *mr* avariciam *mnar* || 454 fustae *a* *Notae in mrg. man. recent. scr. l* || 455 popilius *pm* populus *c* anthiochum *l* antiochium *c* anthiocum *r* ptolomeo *la* tholomeo *mr* phtolomeo *c* || 456 cum *om. plmnc* voluit *c* || 458 anthiochus *lr* se *suprascr. c* popilius *pc* pompilius, i *secunda suprascr. n* populus *m* || 459 virgam *cr* || 460 discedas *r* senatus *c* || 461 se *om. c* ptolomeo *la* tholomeo *cr* ptholomeo, p *expunct. m* ||

VI. 4. 4 P. Rutilius, cum amici cuiusdam petitioni iniuste resisteret isque indignatus dixisset ‘quid ergo mihi opus est tua amicitia, si quod rogo non facis?’ respondit ‘immo quid mihi tua, si propter te aliquid inhoneste facturus sum?’

VI. 4. 5 Brutus contra Caesarem ultimum proelium initurus, cum a quibusdam suis prohiberetur, ‘fidenter’, inquit, ‘in aciem descendo: hodie enim aut recte erit aut nichil curabo.’

VI. 4. ext. 1 Cinnania Lusitanorum civitas a Bruto obsessa temptata de redemptione legatis respondit ferrum sibi a maioribus, quo urbem tuerentur, non aurum, quo libertatem ab imperatore avaro emerent, relictum.

VI. 4. ext. 3 Alexander bis victo Dario, cum ei idem Darius partem regni et filiam in matrimonium cum decies centum milibus talentis polliceretur, cum Parmenion dixisset se, si Alexander esset, usurum hac conditione, respondit ‘et ego uterer, si Parmenion essem.’

VI. 5. ext. 3 Zaleucus, cum filius eius adulterio dampnatus utroque oculo carere deberet, ac tota civitas in honorem patris ei aliquandiu repugnavit, ad ultimum victus, ne lex a se condita violaretur, suo prius, deinde filii oculo eruto utrisque usum videndi reliquit.

VI. 5. ext. 4 Charontes Tyrius cauta a se lege ut nemo cum ferro seditiosas cohortes intraret, post multum tempus e longinquo rure gladio cinctus domum repetens, subita contione indicta sic ut erat in eam processit. ab eo qui proxime stabat solutae legis ammonitus ‘ego’, inquit, ‘illam sarciam’ ac protinus ferro, quod habebat, districto incubuit.

DE MUTATIONE MORUM AUT FORTUNAE

VI. 9. 15 Iulius Caesar adhuc privatus Asiam petens, a maritimis praedonibus exceptus L talentis se redemit.

VI. 9. ext. 1 Polemo Atheniensis adolescens luxuriosus surgens e convivio non

462 Frutilius *a* rutilius (p *om.*) *c* peticioni *mr* peticionis *c* iniustae *m* petitio iniusta *in mrg. man. recent. add. l* || 463 michi *n* est *om. m* amiticia *m* amicicia *na* || 464 michi *n* || 465 sim *r* || 466 contra] cum *c* cesarem *lmncr* prelium *n* praelium *a* || 467 *post* descendo *2 litt. eras. p* descendam *r* || 468 nihil *pc* || 469 cinnania: c *suprascr. a* cirnania *c* lusitanonum *l* ab *c* obruto *m* abrupto *n* temptata: ta *secund. suprascr. a* || 470 respondit legatis *l* || 472 bis victo---473 in matrimonium *om. c* darius *suprascr. n* || 473 in *suprascr. r* matrimonio *r* || 474 usurum *corr. ex* usutum, t *expunct. et* r *suprascr. c* visurum *r* condicione *m* || 475 parmenio *c* || 476 zaleuchus *lc* aleucus, z *in mrg. scr. n* saleucus *a* filius *corr. e* filios, o *expunct. et* u *suprascr. c* dampnatus: p *suprascr. p* damnatus *m* occulo *n* || 477 eius *nc* || 478 victis *c* a se *om. r* prius suo *c* || 479 eruto *in ras. p* eruto *corr. ex* erudito, di *expunct. n* eruto oculo *m* usum *corr. e* visum *r* vivendi *a* reliquid *a* || 480 harontes *a* carontes *c* tiryus *n* filius *a* cauta *om. l* lege] capta *suprascr. l* sediciolas *m* seditiosus *c* || 481 tempus *om. a* || 482 subita *bis scr. m* concio *m* concione *cr* erat *om. m* || 483 solute *ac* admonitus *ac* inquid *a* || 484 distracto *r* || 485 MUTANE *m* FORTUNE *lc* FORTITUDINE *mr* || 486 cesar *lmncr* asyam *n* predonibus *n* || 488 polemo

post occasum solis, sed post ortum domumque rediens Xenocratis philosophi patentem ianuam cum vidisset, vino plenus domum plenam doctis hominibus intravit et inverecunde consedit. indignantibus cunctis Xenocrates vultum continuit et omissis his, quae loquebatur, de temperantia loqui coepit. sic facto eum de infami ganeone optimum philosophum fecit.

DE FELICITATE LIBRO VII

VII. 1. 2 Giges regno Lidiae armis et opibus superbus sciscitatus est Apollinem an aliquis mortalium se esset felicior. deus ex abdito specu voce missa Aglaum Sophidium ei praetulit. is erat Archadum pauperrimus, sed etate iam senior terminos agelli sui numquam excesserat.

SAPIENTER DICTA AUT FACTA

VII. 2. 1 Appius Claudius solitus erat dicere negotium populo Romano melius quam otium committi.

VII. 2. 3 Q. Metellus devicta Carthagine nescire se illa victoria bonine plus an mali rei publicae attulisset asseveravit.

VII. 2. ext. 1 Socrates nichil ultra petendum a diis inmortalibus arbitrabatur quam ut bona tribuerent, quia ii demum scirent quid uni cuique esset utile.

Idem compendiaria via eos ad gloriam pervenire dicebat, qui id agerent, ut, quales videri vellent, tales etiam essent.

Idem ab adolescentulo consultus utrum uxorem duceret an se omni matrimonio abstineret, respondit utrum eorum fecisset, acturum penitentiam. ‘ hic te ’, inquit, ‘ solitudo, hic te orbitas excipiet.’

atheniensis---494 philosophum fecit *om. c* athenensis *pl* atheniensis: i *prior. suprascr. na* adulescens *p* || 489 post occasum] multos *insert. a* ortum *corr. ex* ostum, s *expunct. et* r *suprascr. n* zenochratis *r* || 490 phylosophi *p* philosopi *n* || 491 doctis: c *suprascr. n* inverecunde *corr. ex* inverecundie, i *expunct. r* indignantibus *corr. ex* igdignantibus, g *expunct. et* n *suprascr. m* || 492 zenocrates *r* retinuit *a* continuit] velans *r* que *p* || 493 cepit *r* ganeone *corr. e* gageone, n *suprascr. l* phylosophum *p* ex infami ganeone philosophum... mum fecit *in mrg. man. recent. iterum scr. a* || 495 LIBRO VII *in mrg. scr. m* cap. prim. *add. man. recent. n* IIII *c* || 496 lidie *r* suscitatus *c* || 498 emissa *c* sophidum *r* eum *m* pretulit *n* pauperimus *a* || 499 aetate *pmn* iam] etiam *c* agelli *corr. ex* angelli, n *expunct. r* sui *om. m* nunquam *a* || 500 SAPIETER *l* AUT] VEL *a* || 501 erat: t *suprascr. n* negocium *c* romanorum *c* || 502 comitti *n* committit *c* || 503 Q] vinctus *a* *om. m* quintus *r* cartagine *placr* kartagine *m* se nescire *r* || 504 r. (i *suprascr.*) p. (e *suprascr.*) *par* r. p. *lmnc* || 505 socrates nichil---508 etiam essent *om. c* nihil *p* *add.* aliud *r* arbitrabatur: ba *suprascr. l* || 506 hi *mar* quod *a* *Notae in mrg. scr. r* || 507 pervenire *corr. e* perveniret, et *expunct. et* e *suprascr. m* pervenire: per *suprascr. n* qui id] quid *l* id *suprascr. p* || 509 idem] socrates *c* adulescentulo *pmc* duceretur *c* || 510 utrum eorum *om. r* faecisset *l* fetisset *corr. e* petisset, f *suprascr. c* scisset *r* acturam *m* paenitentiam *a* || 511 hinc... hinc *a* excipiet] *add.* Christus

Idem, cum Athenienses tristem de capite eius sententiam tulissent, fortique animo potionem veneni e manu carnificis accepisset, admoto iam labris poculo uxore Xantippe inter flendum et lamentationem vociferante innocentem eum periturum, ‘quid ergo’, inquit, ‘nocenti mihi mori satius esse duxisti?’

VII. 2. ext. 3 Bias Prieneus, cum patriam eius hostes invasissent, omnibus preciosarum rerum pondere onustis fugientibus interrogatus quid ita nichil ex bonis suis secum ferret ‘ego enim’, inquit, ‘bona mea mecum porto’: pectore enim illa gestabat, non humeris.

VII. 2. ext. 5 Regem quendam tradunt traditum sibi diadema prius quam capiti imponeret retentum diu considerasse ac dixisse ‘o nobilem magis quam felicem pannum! quem, si quis penitus cognoscat quam multis periculis sit refertus, ne humi quidem iacentem tollere vellet.’

VII. 2. ext. 6 Xenocrates, cum quibusdam detractoribus interesset et taceret, quaerente uno cur solus taceret, ‘quia dixisse me’, inquit, ‘aliquando penituit, tacuisse numquam.’

VII. 2. ext. 7 Aristophanes aiebat non oportere in urbe nutrire leonem, sin autem sit altus, obsequi ei convenire: monet enim ut praecipue nobilitatis et ingenii iuvenes refrenentur, quod stultum et inutile sit eas obtrectare vires, quas ipse foveris.

VII. 2. ext. 9 Unicae filiae pater Temistoclen consulebat utrum eam pauperi, sed ornato, an locupleti parum probato collocaret. cui is ‘malo’, inquit, ‘virum pecunia quam pecuniam viro indigentem.’

VII. 2. ext. 10 Philippus Alexandrum quorundam Macedonum benivolentiam donis ad se conatum attrahere in epistula sic increpuit: ‘quae te, fili, ratio in hanc vanam spem induxit, ut eos tibi futuros fideles existimares, quos pecunia ad amorem tui compulisses?’

VII. 2. ext. 11 Aristotiles Callisthenen auditorem suum ad Alexandrum mittens

vincit *c* suscipiet *r* || 512 tristem] iustam *r* tulissent sententiam *l* || 513 forti *ar* pocionem *m* accepissent *c* || 514 bibris *c* poculo *corr. e* populo, p *expunct. et* c *suprascr. n* uxorem *c* xantippe: x *suprascr. p* antippe *ln* lamentacionem *m* || 515 eum innocentem *ar* periturum *om. c* quit *r* ergo *suprascr. r* inquid *a* michi *mr* || 516 sacius *lar* duxistis *m* dixisti *ar* || 517 brias *r* praetiosarum *pl* praeciosarum *a* || 518 quit *a* nihil *pm* || 519 mecum porto---534 viro indigentem *om. c* || 521 regem: r *suprascr. a* regemque *r* quemdam *n* quendam, dam *suprascr. a* *om. r* diadema *corr. e* deadema? *n* || 522 inponeret *pm* imponerent *n* ac *om. m* || 524 refertus] fretus *m* vellet] curet *m* tollere vellet *corr. e* tolle revellet *a* || 525 detractatoribus *r* querente *lmnr* || 526 uno *om. m* || 527 nunquam *a* || 528 aristofanes *plmn* agebat, vel i *suprascr. m* nutriri *ar* || 529 alitus *lm* ei] eum *r* enim] ei *n* praecipuae *pr* precipue *n* || 530 ingenui *mar* inutile: *ante* u l *litt. eras. n* || 532 unice *r* pater *om. m* temistotem *m* themistoden *r* || 533 locupeti *p* passum *m* *ante* is l *litt. eras. l* malo: *litt.* lo *legi non possunt l* virum inquit *n* || 534 peccunia *nar* peccuniam *a* || 535 phillippus *n* machedonum *m* || 536 ad se conatum] assecutum *m* adtrahere c increpavit *mr* que *c* ratio *om. m* || 537 vanam] unam *ar* || 538 peccunia *nr* tuum *m* || 539 aristoteles *p* ari-

monuit ut cum eo aut numquam aut quam iocundissime loqueretur, quod quia sprevit spiritu carere iussus sero penituit.

Idem de se in neutram partem loqui debere praedicabat, quoniam laudare se vani, vituperare stulti erit.

VII. 2. ext. 12 Anaxagoras cuidam interroganti quisnam esset beatus ' nemo ', inquit, ' ex his, quos tu felices esse existimas.'

VII. 2. ext. 13 Demas nolentibus Atheniensibus divinos honores Alexandro decernere ' videte ', inquit, ' ne, dum caelum custoditis, terram amittatis.'

VII. 2. ext. 14 Anacharsus leges urbium telis aranearum comparabat. nam ut illas infirmiora animalia retinere, validiora autem transmittere, ita his humiles et pauperes constringi, divites et potentes non alligari.

VAFRE DICTA AUT FACTA

VII. 3. 3 Scipio eductis de Sicilia quadringentis iuvenibus armatis et ornatis quasi contra Carthaginem pugnaturus trepidantibus illis ad bellum exire dixit eos se remittere, si arma et equos militibus suis tradere voluissent.

VII. 3. 4 Fabius, cum a rege Antiocho, quem bello superaverat, ex foedere icto dimidiam partem navium accipere deberet, medias omnes maluit secuisse, ut eum tota classe privaret.

VII. 3. 6 Sestorius dux Lusitanorum factus, cum eos oratione flectere non posset ne cum Romanis universa acie confligere vellent, duos in conspectu eorum constituit equos, unum validissimum, infirmum alterum, ac deinde iussit validi caudam ab inbecillo sene paulatim carpi, infirmi a iuvene validissimo universam convelli. sed cum adolescens frustra laboraret, senex quod voluerat executus est. equi caudae inquit consimilem esse nostrum exercitum, cuius partes aliquis aggrediens opprimere possit, universum non possit prosternere.

stoles, *et add.* auditorum suum, *sed expunct. m* aristotiles: ti *suprascr. r* calistenen *mncr* calisthenen *a* || 540 monuit: n *suprascr. c* nunquam *ar* iucundissime *l* iocundissime *corr. e* iucundissime *n* loqueretur *corr. ex* eloqueretur, e *expunct. n* || 541 iusus *c* || 542 predicabat *nr* || 543 utuperare *l* vituperare] *add.* se *sed expunct. m* erit *corr. ex* erat, a *expunct. et* i *suprascr. l* erat *ar* || 544 cuidam *iterum scr. linea induct. n* || 545 extimas *l* || 546 demas nolentibus---550 non alligari *om. c* atteniensibus *l* || 547 caelum *suprascr. n* celum *lmr* || 551 *tit. om. a* VAFRE DICTA] DE PRAEDICTA *l* VAFRE] VERE *mc* || 552 deductis *a* sicilia *corr. e* silicia *c* scicilia *m* || 553 quasi *om. c* contra *om. ar* cartaginem *placr* kartaginem *m* repugnaturus, re *linea subduct. l* expugnaturus, ex *suprascr. a* || 554 remittere se *l* arma *corr. ex* armas, s *eras. m* aequos *a* || 555 fabius cum---*fin. om. r* sfabius *a* anthioco *lm* federe *mc* || 556 damidiam *m* partem *iterum scr., expunct. m* medias] dimidias *c* || 557 secuisse *corr. e* secaisse, u *suprascr. m* ut eum] utrum *c* tota *bis scr. m* privarent *m* privasset *c* || 558 sextorius *l* nestorius *ma* oracione *m* || 559 potuisset *m* atie *l* conflegere *c* || 560 aequos *na* equos constituit *c* alterum infirmum *c* || 561 valicaudam *c* ab *corr. ex* ad *m* inbecillo *corr. ex* inbello, ci *suprascr. m* sine *c* || 562 collvelli *m* adulescens *pl* || 563 exsecutus *pl* aequi, *corr. ex* aequae *l* aequi *n* est qui *c* inquit caudae *l* caude *ac* consimilem *corr. e* dissimilem, dis *linea subduct. et* con *suprascr. l* consimilis est noster exercitus *a* || 564 adgrediens *c* ||

VII. 3. 10 De patre qui filium ad illicitum scortum properantem prius permissa venere uti fecit et impetum animi eius resolvit.

VII. 3. ext. 1 Alexander sorte monitus ut eum, qui sibi porta egresso primus occurrisset, interfici iuberet, asinarium ante omnes obviam factum occidi praecepit. eo querente ut quid se innocentem morti addiceret, cum ad excusandum se oraculi praeceptum ediceret, asinarius 'si ita est', inquit, 'rex, alium sors huic morti destinavit.' delectatus rex vilius animal interfecit.

VII. 3. ext. 2 Darius rex pactum cum consortibus fecit ut insidentes equis orto sole cursum in quendam locum dirigerent, isque regno potiretur cuius equus in eo primus hinnisset. expectantibus cunctis eventum ille in equae genitalem partem demissam manum, cum ad eum locum ventum esset, naribus equi admovit. quo odore irritatus ante omnes hinnitum dedit. continuo equis delapsi, ut est mos Persarum, Darium humi prostratis corporibus regem salutaverunt.

VII. 3. ext. 3 Bias Prieneus ita aiebat oportere homines in usu amicitiae versari, ut meminissent eam ad graves inimicitias posse converti.

VII. 3. ext. 4 Alexander, cum ad subvertendum Lamsacenam urbem ferretur progressumque extra moenia Anaximenen praeceptorem suum vidisset, antequam ille aliquid diceret, non facturum se quod petisset iuravit. tum ille 'peto', inquit, 'ut Lamsacum diruas.' ita salus urbis unius vaframenti beneficio obtenta est.

VII. 3. ext. 7 Hannibal a Iulio consule naumachio superatus timensque classis amissae poenas dare, prius quam nuntius cladis domum veniret, quendam ex amicis astute Carthaginem misit. qui ingressus curiam illius urbis 'consulit vos', inquit, 'Hannibal, cum dux Romanorum advenerit magnas secum maritimas copias trahens, an cum eo confligere debeat.' acclamavit universus senatus non esse dubium quin oporteret. tum ille 'conflixit', inquit, 'et superatus est.' ita non reliquit id factum dampnare, quod ipsi fieri iudicaverant.

566 properante *c* permanere *c* || 567 faecit *l* inpetum *m* impletum *c* || 568 alexander sorte---572 animal interfecit *om. c* || 570 quaerente *a* || 571 preceptum *n* ediceret *corr. ex* addiceret, ad *expunct. et* e *suprascr. l* est *suprascr. l* || 573 darius *corr. e* dacius, c *expunct. et* r *suprascr. c* partum *l* consortibus *corr. e* consonantibus, n *corr. in* r *et* an *expunct. n* sortibus *m* consentibus *c* faecit *l* insidentes: *post* d l *litt. eras. p* insidentes *corr. ex* insidientes, i *expunct. a* aequis *a* || 574 potiretur: re *suprascr. l* potiretur *corr. e* petiretur, e *expunct. et* o *suprascr. n* cui *c* equs *l* || 575 aequus *a* hinniset *c* aequae *a* eque *c* || 576 dimissam *c* || 577 aequi *a* ammovit *m* || 578 aequis *na* mors *pc* prostratis, r *secunda suprascr. m* || 580 oponere *c* usu *corr. ex* husu, h *expunct. a* amiciciae *na* amiticie *c* || 581 inimicias *na* posse *om. m* convertit *c* || 582 alexander cum---586 obtenta est *om. lc* lamsacenam: a *secunda suprascr. a* || 583 anaximenem *n* preceptorem *n* || 584 quid *m* || 585 urbis *suprascr. n* vaframenti] iuramenti (*ante* r *2 litt. eras.*) *a* i. calliditatis *suprascr. m* || 587 superatusti que *c* amisse *nc* || 588 poenas: e *suprascr. p* penas *c* nuntius *corr. e* nontius, u *suprascr. m* quandam *c* || 589 astute *om. a* cartaginem *pac* kartaginem *lm* || 591 adclamavit *c* || 592 qui in *c* tu mille *c* || 593 relinquit *mc* dampnare: p *suprascr. p* damnare *nac* ||

VII. 4. 5 Metellus secretum suum interrogatus ' absiste ', inquit, ' istud quaerere: nam si huius consilii mei interiorem tunicam consciam esse sensero, continuo eam igni cremari iubebo.'

DE REPULSIS

VII. 5. 2 Scipio Nasica cum edilitatem curulem adolescens adhuc peteret manumque cuiusdam rustico opere praeduratam tenacius apprehendisset, ioci gratia interrogavit eum num manibus solitus esset ambulare. omnes indignati sunt quasi paupertatem sibi exprobratam iudicantes.

DE NECESSITATE

VII. 6. 2 Casilinates obsidione Hannibalis clausi ita defecerunt ut lora necessariis usibus subducta eque scutis detractas pelles ferventi aqua resolutas comederent.

VII. 6. 1 Secundo Punico bello Romani ita exhausti sunt, ut viginti quattuor milia servorum emerent iurare compulsos strenue se pugnaturos quoad Poeni essent in Italia.

VII. 6. 3 Obsessis Praenestinis ab Hannibale quidam ex his murem captum ducentis potius denariis vendere quam ipse comedere maluit.

VII. 6. ext. 1 Cretenses a Metello obsessi sua iumentorumque urina sitim potius torserunt quam refecerunt.

LIBRO VIII INFAMES REI DE QUIBUS CAUSIS ABSOLUTI AUT DAMPNATI SUNT

VIII. 1. abs. 3 Neque secundarum rerum proventu insolenter abuti neque adversis propere debilitari oportet.

VIII. 1. abs. 7 Flavius a Valerio accusatus, cum se innocentem opprimi proclamasset, ille respondit nichil sua interesse nocensne an innoxius periret, dummodo periret. ob quod ille liberatus est.

594 IIII ca. VII lib. *in mrg. man. recent. scr. n* metel *n* querere *lmnc* || 595 hui *c* || 596 eam *om. ma* cremare *m* || 597 REPULSIS *corr. e* REPUSSIS, S *expunct. et* L *suprascr. m* || 598 aedilitatem *p* adulescens *p* aldhuc *a* || 599 opere *om. m* preduratam *n* tenatius *n* tenasius *c* || 600 ioci *suprascr. l* non *ma* ambulari *n* || 601 exprobatam *c* iudicantes *om. c* || 602 *tit. om. a* DE NECESSITATE *in mrg. scr. l* NECESSITATIBUS *m* NESCESSITATE *c* || 603 casilinates *corr. e* casiliantes *m* basilinates, *et* c *in mrg. scr. a* defecererunt *m* || 604 aeque *na* resolutos *c* || 606 quatuor *n* || 607 conpulsos *pl* compulsus *c* compulsos iurare *a* || 608 peni *n* in italia quoad poeni essent *a* || 609 obsessi praenestini *plc* et (prenestini) *mn* hannibale: h *suprascr. ln* quidem *c* || 610 pocius *m* || 611 retenses *m* cetenses *a* iumentorum *a* iumentorumque *corr. e* iuramentorumque, ra *expunct. n* || 612 refecerunt] *add.* INFAM R, *et cetera ad fin. om. m* || 613 VIII LIBRO *n* LIBRO VIII *post* SUNT *scr. a* ABSOLUTI] AUT SOLUTI *n* || 614 AUT] VEL *a* DAMPNATI: P *suprascr. p* DAPNATI *l* DAMNATI *nc* || 615 fecundarum *c* || 617 flavius, f *in mrg. scr. a* acusatus *c* opprimit *c* || 618 nihil *p* nocentemne *c* an *om. c* ||

DE STUDIO ET SAPIENTIA

VIII. 7. ext. 1 Demostenes oris sui vitium tanto studio expugnavit, ut nullus expressius quod volebat proferret. idem gracilem nimis vocem continua exercitatione ad gratum auribus sonum perduxit. idem ob lateris infirmitatem discutendiam multos versus impetu suo complebat eosque adversa loca celeri gradu scandens pronuntiabat. ac vadosis litoribus insistens declamationes fluctuum fragoribus obsistentibus edebat. ore quoque calculis insertis multum ac diu loqui erat solitus, quo vacuum promptius esset et solutius.

VIII. 7. ext. 2 Pytagoras, postquam Aegyptum petens eorum scientiam didicit, deinde ad Persas profectus magicam artem didicit. deinde Crete leges cum didicisset, ad Olimpicum certamen descendit. interrogatus quo cognomine censeretur, ne se sapientem — iam enim illud nomen septem sapientes viri occupaverant — se amatorem sapientiae, hoc est philosophum, dixit.

VIII. 7. ext. 3 Plato discipulus Socratis octogesimo primo anno decedens sub capite Sopyronis mos habuisse fertur.

VIII. 7. ext. 5 Carneades ita studiosus erat ut, cum cibi capiendi causa recumberet, cogitationibus inhaerens manum ad mensam porrigere oblivisceretur. idem cum Chrisippo disputaturus elleboro se ante purgabat ad exprimendum ingenium suum attentius et illius acrius refellendum.

VIII. 7. ext. 6 Anaxagoras post longam peregrinationem pro studio sapientiae in patriam reversus, cum possessiones suas desertas vidisset, ‘non essem’, inquit, ‘ego salvus, nisi istae perissent.’

VIII. 7. ext. 7 Marcellus consul captis Syracusis, cum machinationibus Archimedis philosophi diu victoriam suam inhibitam sensisset, eximia tamen hominis prudentia delectatus capiti illius pepercit. at is, dum oculis defixis formas describeret, militi, qui praedandi gratia domum eius ingressus fuerat, interroganti quis esset, propter nimiam cupiditatem investigandi nomen suum indicare non potuit. sed protracto manibus pulvere ‘noli’, inquit, ‘obsecro, istum disturbare.’ ita interfectus est.

VIII. 7. ext. 8 Socrates iam provectus fidibus operam dedit satius iudicans illius artis usum sero quam numquam percipere.

621 suis *c* nonullus *n* expressius: i *suprascr. n* || 622 excitata ne *c* || 623 sonnum *lc* perduxit *om. c* infirmitate *n* || 624 discutiendum *c* ursus *a* || 625 gradus candens *lc* pronunciabat *l* littoribus *n* || 627 infertis *c* quod *c* vacuum *corr. e* vatium, ti *expunct. et* cu *suprascr. n* promtius *pnc* || 629 pytagoras postquam---655 percepero moriar *om. c* egyptum *ln* || 630 leges crete *n* || 631 olimpiacum *n* || 632 nomine *a* || 633 phylosophum *pa* || 635 symphoris *l* sopironis *n* || 636 studiosissimus *in mrg. man. recent. add. a* cibum *a* || 637 inherens *p* porrigere] ponere *l* || 638 crisippo *a* || 642 iste *pna* || 643 siracusis *a* siracusanis *n* archymedis *p* || 644 phylosophi *pa* || 645 his *l* at is] altis *a* || 651 nunquam *a* ||

VIII. 7. ext. 14 Solon dicebat se cotidie aliquid addiscentem senescere. idem moriens assidentibus amicis et sermonem quadam de re invicem conferentibus caput erexit. interrogatus quapropter id fecisset respondit 'ut, cum istud, quicquid est, de quo disputatis, percepero, moriar.'

DE PRONUNTIATIONE

VIII. 10. ext. 1 Demostenes interrogatus quid esset in dicendo efficacissimum respondit ITITTOKPIC, iterum et tertio interrogatus idem dixit.

QUAM MAGNI EFFECTUS ARTIUM SINT

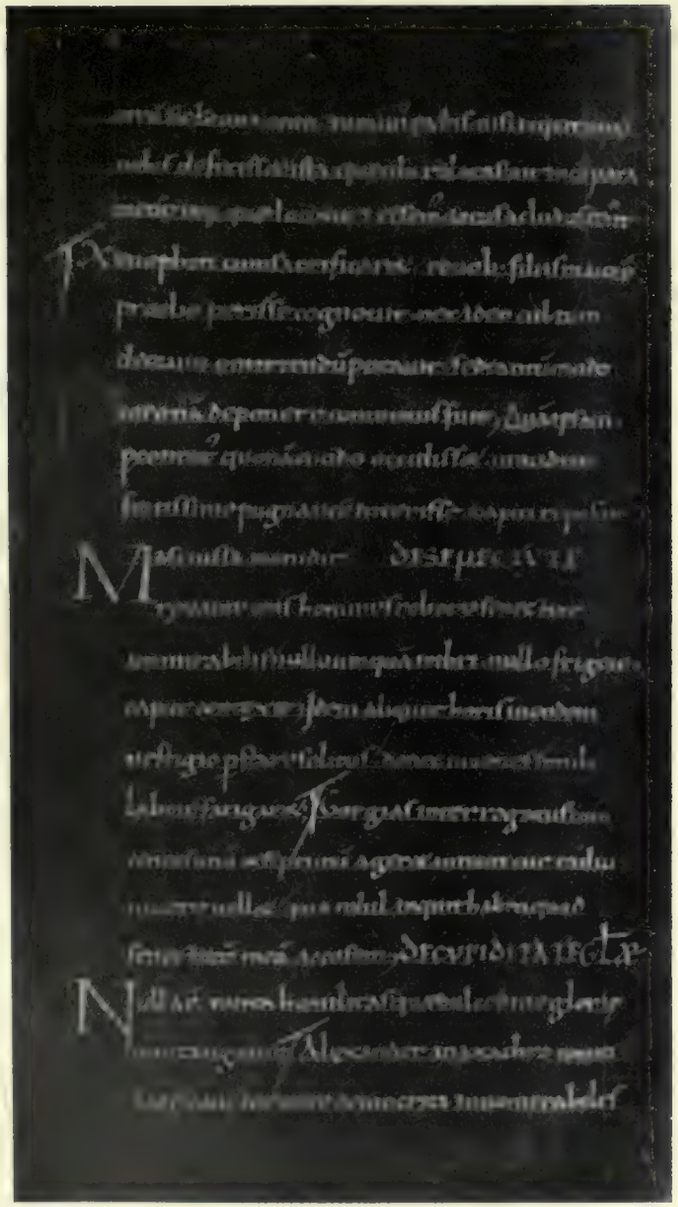
VIII. 11. 2 Spurinna praedixerat Caesari Iulio ut proximos triginta dies quasi fatales caveret, quorum ultimus erat idus Martis. eo die mane cum uterque in domum convenisset, Caesar Spurinnae 'ecquid scis iam idus Martis venisse?' et is 'ecquid scis illas nondum praeterisse?'

VIII. 11. ext. 4 Praxiteus mulierem in marmore quasi spirantem pinxit adeo ut a quodam libidinoso concupisceretur. equus visa picta equa hinniit, latratus canum viso picto cane incitatus, taurus ad amorem aeneae vaccae immugiit.

The text and critical apparatus will reveal with sufficient clearness the cases where the additional MSS. consulted differ from the Paris. lat. 8818 used by Schnetz. It should be remembered that the text is necessarily a synthesis, and that there is always the possibility of correction on the part of the scribes to agree with readings in the manuscripts of Valerius Maximus. Whether or not Heiric himself had access to a MS. of Valerius from which he afterward corrected his own short-hand notes is uncertain. The problem of the connection of his excerpts with the tradition of Valerius as represented by Bernensis 366, Laurentianus 1899, [1] and other extant MSS., together with the relation of Rodulfus Tortarius to the entire group, is a complicated one which will require further investigation.

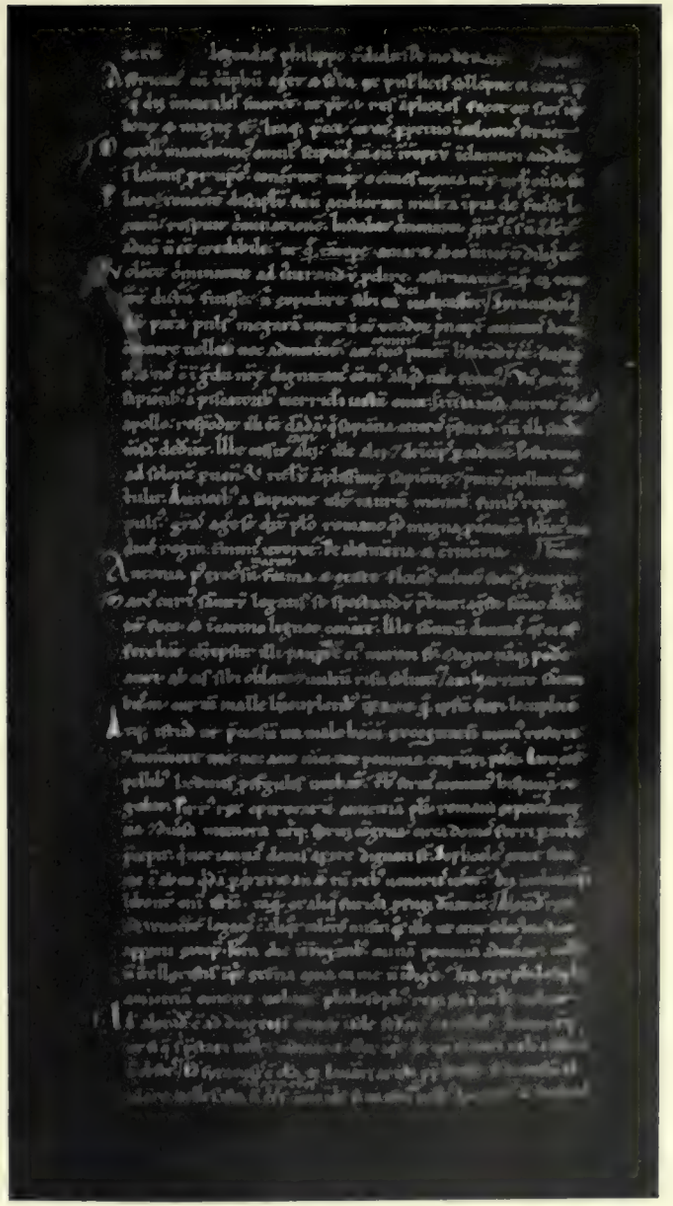
[1] The connection with these two MSS. has already been discussed by Schnetz, *op. cit.*

652 aliquit *a* || 653 quaedam, *corr. e* quandam *p* quadam *om. a* conferentibus *corr. e* conferrentibus, r *prior. expunct. a* || 654 capud *l* || 656 DE PRONUNTIATIONE---658 idem dixit *om. a* PRONUNCIATIONE *l* || 657 demosthenes: h *suprascr. p* demosthenes *n* quid *corr. e* quis, d *suprascr. n* || 658 ITITTOKPIC : O *suprascr. p* ITITTOKPIC *in ras. c* tercio *plnc* idem] item *c* || 659 SUNT *c* || 660 spurimna *pnc* spurimma *l* cesari *lnc* || 661 fatiles *c* idus *corr. ex* idem, em *expunct. et* us *suprascr. n* martii, *corr. e* martis *ln* martii *a* || 662 cesar *lnc* spurimne *ac* spurimnae *n* et quid *plnac* || 663 his *pa* is *corr. ex* his, h *expunct. n* et quid *plnac* non preterisse *n* || 664 praxiteus *corr. e* praxateus, a *expunct. et* i *suprascr. c* marmore *corr. e* marmone, n *expunct. et* r *suprascr. a* || 665 equs *l* equae *p* aequa *n* hinnit *a* || 666 incitatus] *add.* est *a* eneae *ln* enee *c* eticae *a* voce *pn* vacae, *corr. e* vocae *l* vocem *c* immugiet *l* immugit *a* inmugiet *nc*



Paris. lat. 8818, f. 13 v.

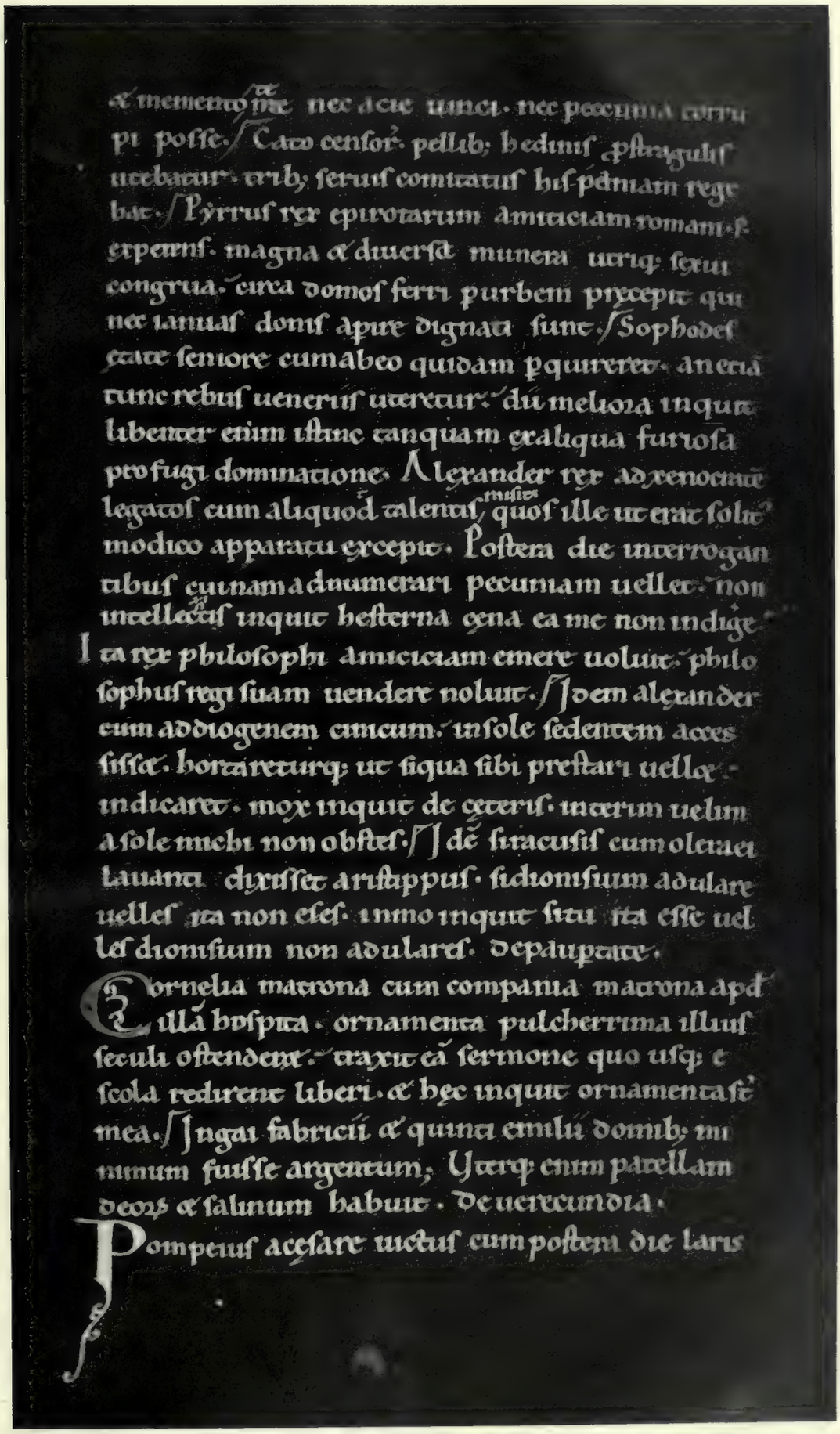
Fig. 1.



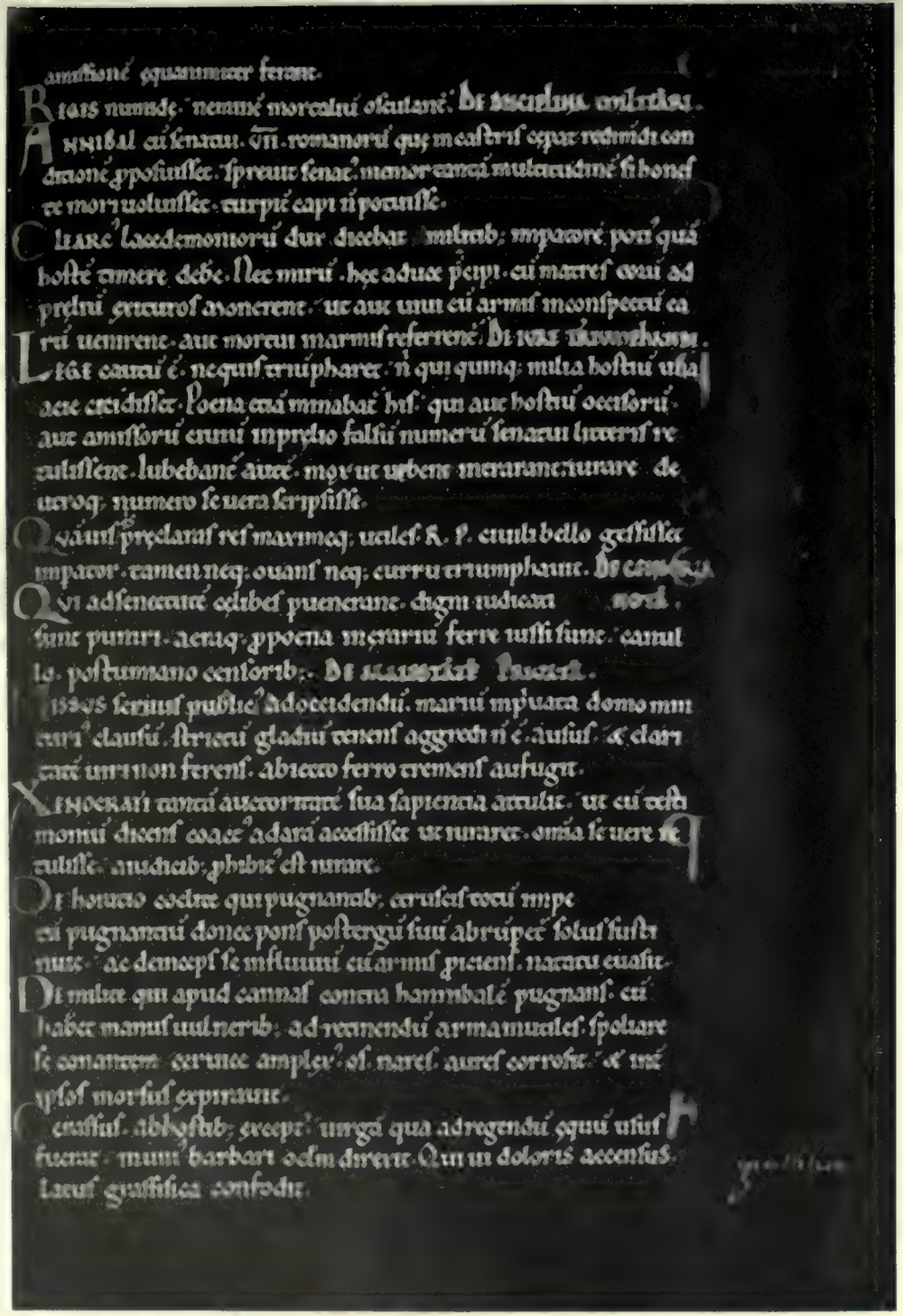
Laurent. xx. 48, f. 42 v.

Fig. 2.

PLATE 14.

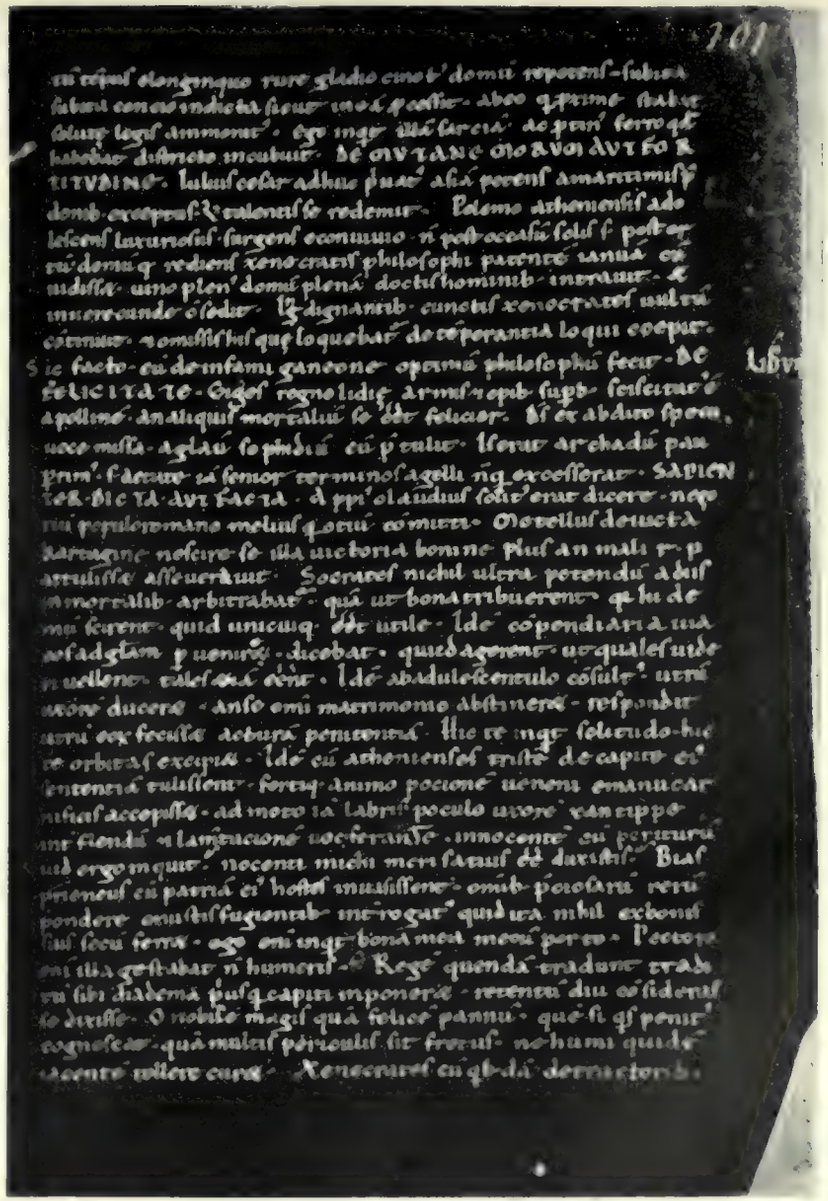


Nic. 92, f. 125 v.



Brit. Mus. Add. 19835, f. 6.

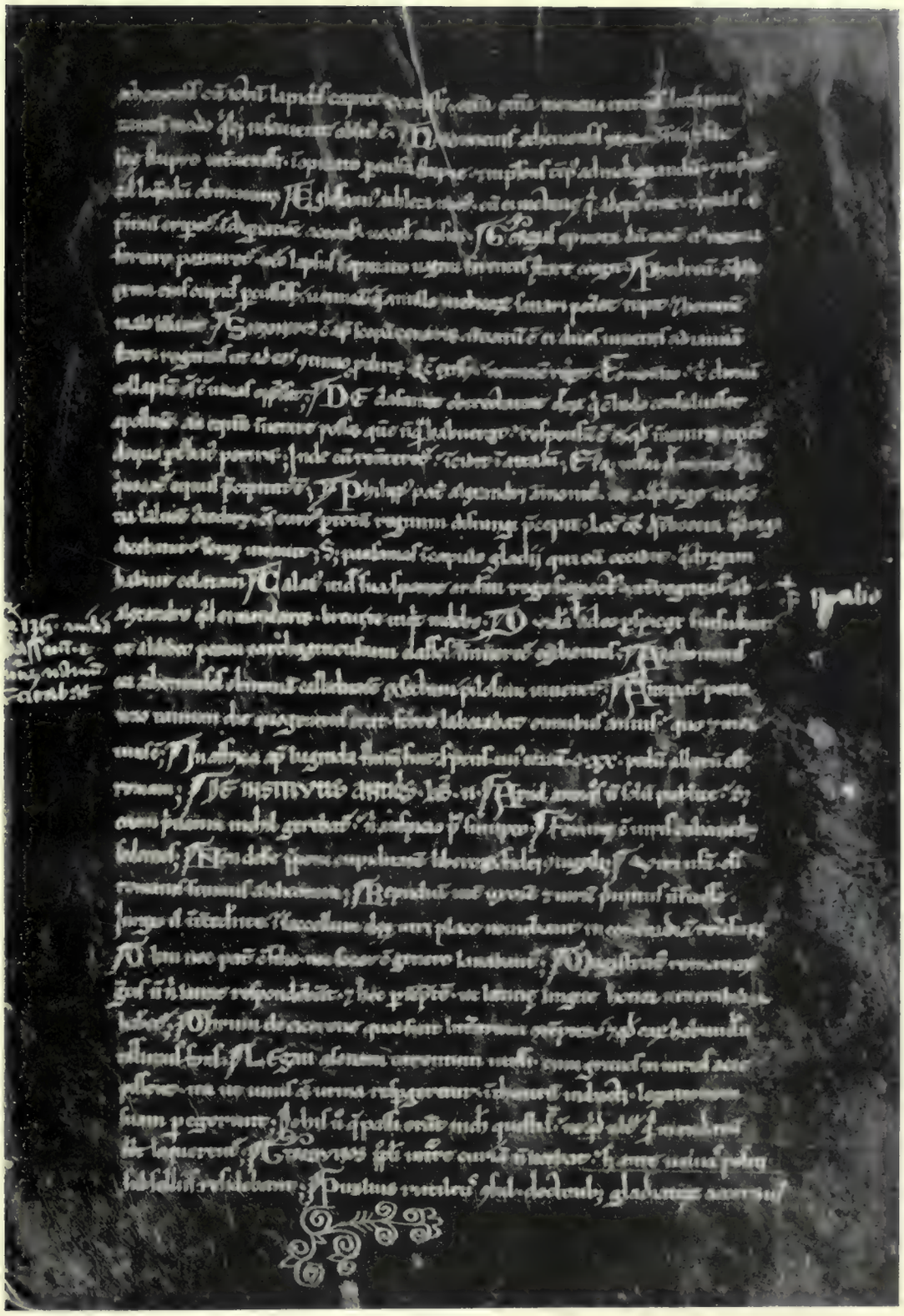
Fig. 1.



Monac. lat. 14736, f. 101.

Fig. 2.

PLATE 16.



Lips. Rep. I. 4. 48, f. 99.

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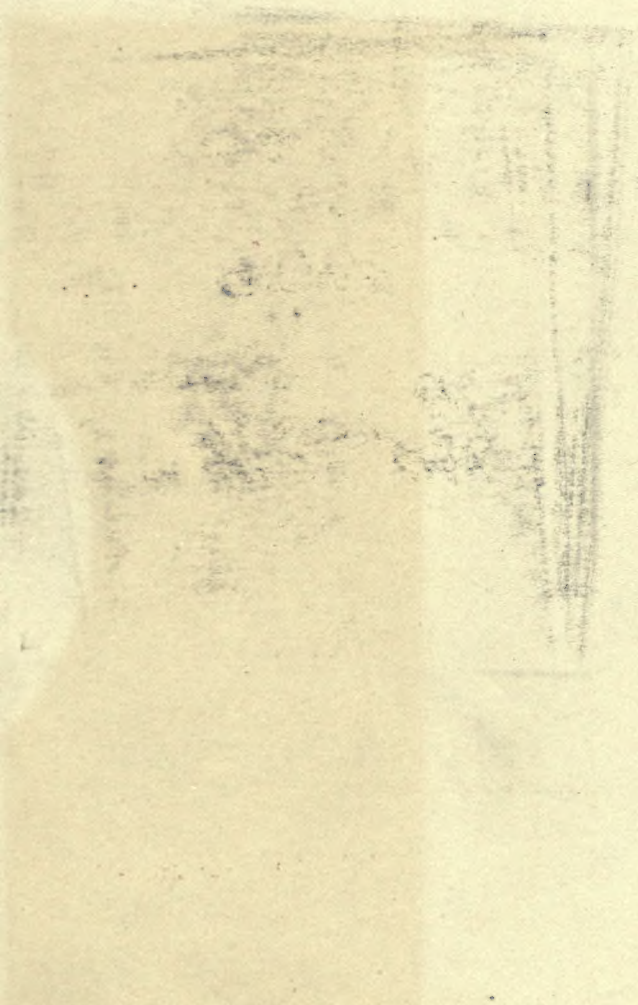

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